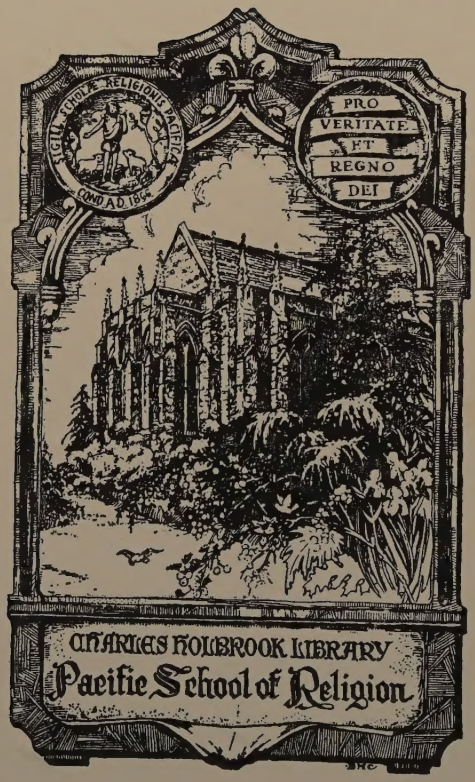
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OF THE

Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME XIV

Parts I and II

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ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 5, 1944

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 5, 1944, at 11:15 A.M., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Eleven members were present.

Reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was not called for, since these had been approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee, June 21, 1944, were read and approved as read.

The Treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash balance on hand, October 4, 1943	$1,484.88
Receipts	2,145.72
	$3,630.60
Disbursements	2,005.79
Balance on hand, October 5, 1944	$1,624.81

On motion the report, properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed. The disbursements included the purchase of $1,000.00 of United States War Bonds.

The Librarian submitted his report. The number of museum-visitors was fewer this year, only about one hundred registering. There had been forty-six accessions to the Library, among them, *Japan and its Regeneration*, by Otis Cary, *Missionary Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, by—— Leonard, *Rifles for Washington*, by Mrs. Elsie Singmaster Lewers, *Polish Pioneers of Pennsylvania. A Check List of*

Inprints of the German Press of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1766-1905, by Alfred L. Shoemaker, and two copies of *The Road to Salem*, by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, had been purchased.

Mr. J. Davis Weiss, through Mr. William S. Lesh, submitted welcome information concerning the location of the original cemetery at Wechquetank (Gilberts, Monroe County, Penna.), and stated that the tombstones which had been deposited along the mill-race had been located. These have been unearthed and it is hoped that more may be found. The property is now owned by Mr. Joseph Annewalt, who is interested and is cooperating in removing these stones.

For the Publication Committee Dr. W. N. Schwarze reported that Volume XIII, parts III and IV, would be ready for distribution shortly.

The following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D. D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E., Miss Adeladie L. Fries, Litt.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D., Mr. William H. Milchsack.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D., Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry, Mr. William E. Henry, Mr. John E. Leibfried.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., Mr. Andrew G. Kern, Mr. George W. Hahn, Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Robert F. Ziegler, Mr. William H. Milchsack, Mr. George W. Hahn.

The secretary announced the names of the applicants for membership, viz.: For Active Membership, The Rev. Arthur E. Francke, Mr. Raymond H. Michael, Mrs. F. E. Lennox, The Rev. John S. Groenfeldt, Mrs. Mabel B. Giering, Mrs. Robert H. Diehl, Mrs. R. H. Browne, Miss Mary Emma Bennett, Mrs. S. T. Achenbach, Mrs. C. M. Smith.

For Associate Membership, Mrs. Alice A. Bitler, Miss Charlotte C. Mix, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership indicated and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

Members and guests of the Society, numbering about one hundred sixty, met for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, the meeting beginning at 1:15 P.M. The Nazareth Moravian Church trombone choir announced the annual Vesper Meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mrs. Mary A. Beck, Mr. Joseph H. Fulmer, Sc.D., Mr. Samuel E. Grosch, the Rev. F. E. Lennox, Professor Benjamin L. Miller, Ph.D., Sc.D., Mr. George B. Hillman. The customary memorial hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

The President addressed a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembly and, then, introduced the Hon. John R. MacNicol, member of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, who addressed the members and guests of the Society on the subject, "Fairfield and New Fairfield, Kent County, Ontario; Restoration Program." He gave some account of this former Moravian mission, fur-

nishing photostat maps to show location of the mission settlement. He stated that the Canadian National Monument Board expects to landscape and convert the site into a beautiful park, which is to be dedicated in 1950.

The secretary read the names of those who had joined the Society during the year and stated that, at the present time, the membership totals 361.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the eighty-seventh annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 11, 1945

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 11, 1945, at 11.15 A.M., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Thirteen members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society had been approved by the Executive Committee, and reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1944	$1,624.81
Receipts	2,291.70
	$3,916.51
Disbursements	1,426.74
Cash on hand, October 1, 1945	$2,489.77

On motion, the report, properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed.

It was reported for the Publication Committee that the material for next issue of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society" was being assembled and that publication was expected within the year. The paper being presented today by Professor Howland on "An Architectural History of the Moravian Church of Bethlehem, Pa." is to be included in the next pamphlet.

The Graveyard Committee had no report to render. The condition of the cemetery at Hope, New Jersey, came up for

discussion and some suggestions were made as to its future care. There was reference, also, to the restoration program for Fairfield and New Fairfield, Ontario, Canada, and it was noted that through subscriptions and an appropriation the Society had contributed one hundred dollars to the project.

The Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Schultz, A.M., gave a detailed report of his work in the Library and the Museum. He stated that the number of visitors had greatly increased during the year. A number of donations had been received for both the Library and the Museum. Among the latter there was particular interest in an old instrument for the making of quills, the bell from the steamer "Research," lost in 1898, two rare old ivory fans.

The secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.,

For Life Membership, Mrs. Elmer L. Mack.

For Active Membership, Mrs. Henry T. Borhek, Miss Mary V. Borhek, Mr. Grant Cressman, Mrs. Grant Cressman, Mr. Willis Eby, Mrs. James Egan, Mrs. Ernestine I. Felker, Mrs. Harry Greiner, the Rev. Albert J. Harke, Mrs. Albert J. Harke, Mrs. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Edgar A. More, Mrs. John A. Mueller, Mrs. Paul A. Nelson, Mr. Harry J. Schaeffer, Mrs. Harry J. Schaeffer, Mr. Ottomar A. Schramm, Mrs. David J. Zehner.

For Associate Membership, Mrs. Lena E. Grim.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D, the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

On motion, the committees of the Society were to be appointed by the Executive Committee. In the event, the Executive Committee appointed these Committees as follows:

Publication Committee, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D., Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry, Mr. William E. Henry, Mr. John E. Leibfried, Mr.Robert J. Desh.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A. M., the Rev. G. M. Schultz, A.M., Mr. Andrew G. Kern, Mr. George W. Hahn, Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M., the Rev. Robert I. Giering.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Robert F. Ziegler, Mr. George W. Hahn, Mr. William H. Milchsack, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classes of membership for which they had been nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred sixty members and guests of the Society assembled for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1:15 P.M. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper meeting with several choral selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mr. Horace E. Grosch, Mrs. Herman Frueauff, Miss Clara A. Giering, Miss Amanda Stadiger, Mrs. H. R. Stratford, Mrs. Albert G. Rau, Mrs. L. A. Otis, Mr. Frank P. Miller, the Rev. Richard L. Williams, D.D. In their memory the cus-

tomary memorial hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

After a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembled members and guests, the President introduced Professor Garth A. Howland of the Fine Arts Department of Lehigh University, who presented parts of a paper, "An Architectual History of the Moravian Church of Bethlehem, Penna." Based on thorough-going study of the building itself and such materials as the manuscript sources yielded, the paper disclosed much interesting information that was welcomed by the members of the Society and their guests. Stereopticon projected pictures and plans of details of structure illustrated the presentation of the subject. This paper considerably extended forms an interesting and valuable part of this number of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society."

The Secretary read the names of those persons who had joined the Society during the past year. The membership of the Society, all classifications included, now totals 397.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

MRS. MARY A. BECK

was born March 1, 1872, in Alburtis, Penna. She died, ————, 1944, in Nazareth, Penna. She joined the Society in 1931.

JOSEPH H. FULMER, SC.D.

was born, ————, in Richmond, Northampton County, Penna. He died, May 14, 1944, in Nazareth, Penna. He joined the Society in 1928.

SAMUEL E. GROSCH

was born, August 9, 1876, in ————. He died, August 12, 1944, in Bethlehem, Penna. He joined the Society in 1936.

THE REV. FREDERICK ERNEST LENNOX

was born July 7, 1859 in Bermuda. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., January 18, 1944. He was deeply interested in the objectives of the Society and very active in promoting its well-being. Many of the members of the Society made their first contacts with the organization through him. He joined the Society in 1907.

BENJAMIN L. MILLER, PH.D., SC.D.

was born in Sebetha, Kansas, in 1874. He died, March 23, 1944, in Bethlehem, Penna. A member of the faculty of Lehigh University, he was nationally and internationally well known as a geologist. He joined the Society in 1936.

GEORGE B. HILLMAN

was born May 21, 1886, in Wilkes Barre, Penna. He died August 19, 1944, in Wilkes Barre, Penna. He joined the Society in 1921.

HORACE E. GROSCH

was born, January 17, 1859, in Lititz, Penna. He died, October 26, 1944, in Lititz, Penna. He joined the Society in 1887.

MRS. HERMAN FRUEAUFF

was born. ————, in ————. She died in Allentown, Penna., March 27, 1945. She joined the Society in 1931.

MRS. CLARA GIERING

was born, November 27, 1863, in Catasauqua, Penna. She died, January 31, 1945, in Nazareth, Penna. She joined the Society in 1888.

MISS AMANDA STADIGER

was born, ————, in ————. She died, August 23, 1945, in Bethlehem, Penna. She joined the Society in 1894.

MRS. H. R. STRATFORD

was born, ————, in ————. She died ————. She joined the Society in 1936.

MRS. ALBERT G. RAU

was born, October 11, 1871, in Bethlehem, Penna. She died, October 3, 1945, in Bethlehem, Penna. She joined the Society in 1890.

FRANK P. MILLER

was born, November 30, 1885, in Bethlehem, Penna. He died January 19, 1945, in Pottstown, Penna. He joined the Society in 1939.

THE REV. RICHARD L. WILLIAMS, D.D.

was born, March 4, 1880, in Ohio. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., August 29, 1945, en route to his home, Rural Route No. 2, Norristown, Penna. He joined the Society in 1942.

MRS. L. A. OTIS

was born, ————, in ————. She died ————. She joined the Society in 1912.

The Bethlehem Christmas Hymn

KENNETH G. HAMILTON

A little more than two centuries ago Count Zinzendorf spent fourteen months in America. Though he made Philadelphia his headquarters during that period, he visited Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, repeatedly, spending two successive Christmas seasons there. The story of Christmas Eve in 1741 and the naming of Bethlehem has often been told. Less familiar is the account of Bethlehem's second Christmas Eve celebration, though for many years the occasion was remembered as having inspired the *Bethlehem Christmas Hymn.*

In der Christ-Nacht
zu Bethlehem 1742.

Glückselger ist uns doch
keine nacht, als die
uns das wunder-kind hat
gebracht, das in einer krippe,
(das ist gewisslich vor eines
bettelmanns kind verdriesslich)
in lümplein lag.

2. Sein vater war wohl
ein zimmermann, den man
der welt nach noch rechnen
kan unter bürgers-leute:
das schien zu herrlich dem,
dem die menschen-form soll
beschwerlich in allen seyn;

On Christmas Eve
in Bethlehem 1742.

O blessed night, without compare on earth
That night whereon the Wonder-child had birth!
A manger for his crib, on rags he lay;
No beggar's child would be content to stay
In such mean state.

2. As carpenter his father well might pass
Among the people of the middle class—
A rank too high, was this, for one to claim
Who daily had to find man's feeble frame
More burdensome.

3. So, dass ers arm-seyn zu hülffe nahm, als er von ehrlichen leuten kam königlichen stammes von alten zeiten, den aber kein mensch in den niedrigkeiten mehr kennete.

3. So, poverty produced a fit disguise
To veil him from all unillumined eyes:
His parents' worth was hid, his royal race
Unknown; of ancient glories not a trace
Belonged to him.

4. Das an sich genommene fleisch und blut, das war sein einiges haab und gut: Denn er hatte auch nicht so viel zu eigen, drauf er sein haupt hätte können neigen um schlaffens-zeit.

4. For, all that he could truly call his own
Was his adopted form, our flesh and bone.
The very garments pillowing his head
Within the crib where humble cattle fed
Were borrowed goods.

5. Sein ansehn war dabey so gering, dass es fast niemand zu sinne gieng, seine eigne freunde schämten sich seiner, und unter ihnen war einmal keiner, der an ihn gläubt'.

5. Content to live for years in lowliness—
Scarce any person could his secret guess.
At times his friends grew quite ashamed to own
The vague and feeble hopes they once had known
Respecting him.

6. Was dächte die heutige Christenheit, wenn einer käme zu ihrer zeit mit dergleichen zeichen, ihr vorzuschreiben, sie solte einen GOTT aus ihm gläuben, gläubten sies wohl?

6. For what would men be apt to think or say
Throughout the breadth of Christendom today,
If someone lived in such humility
And claimed withal sublimest deity?
Would they believe?

7. Sie thut, als ob sie der nachricht gläubt, die man so lang her von JEsu schreibt, wems auch eine fabel im herzen deuchtet, (so dünckt sie allem, was nicht erleuchtet) das redts doch nach.

7. The common run of folk profess, indeed,
Complete acceptance of the Christian creed,
But deem the narrative of Holy Writ
(For so the worldy wise dispose of it)
A pious myth.

8. Wenns aber zu ernste
und proben kömmt, und man
durchs gläuben wo wird ge-
hemmt, in des fleisches lüsten,
im eigensinne, da
merckt man balde im herzen
drinne, wie viel man
gläubt.

8. And when such people face
life's acid test
Of walking by the faith they
have confessed,
Denying self and fleshly lusts,
why then,
It is not hard to see how much
these men
Believe in Christ.

9. Aber was gehn uns die
draussen an? lob sey dem,
der das an uns gethan, dass
wir gläuben können: das
schmutz'ge kindel in der zer-
rissenen bettel-windel ist unser
GOtt,

9. Enough of these who stray
without the fold!
All praise to him, both for his
love untold
And for the insight clear which
it bestows:
Yon dirty child in rags and
cast-off clothes
Is God with us.

10. Der uns mit eigner
hand hat gemacht, als er die
schöpffung zu ende bracht,
der in uns die seele formiret
hatte, dass sie in zukunft
sein ehe-gatte und lust-spiel
wär,

10. His own the hand which
fashioned us of clay
The while he wrought creation's
final day;
He formed our soul and destined
it to be
His wedded wife throughout
eternity
And his delight.

11. Der den Geist voller
verstand und rath in unsern
Vater geblasen hat, und
als er zur straffe den geist
verlohren, selber das mittel
hat auserkohren, wie er ihm
hülff'.

11. To carry out his great and
holy plan
He breathed discerning spirit
into man.
When Adam sinned and for-
feited this gift,
His Maker found a remedy to
lift
Us back to grace.

12. Unser GOtt ohne ver-
gleich an huld, noch unver-
gleichlicher an geduld, der
vier tausend jahre bey allem
brennen seines erbarmens
hat warten können, wenns
zeit wird seyn,

12. Behold our God, who match-
less mercy shows,
Whose wondrous patience scarce
a limit knows!
He hungered to redeem us, yet
he stayed;
Four thousand years his coming
he delayed
Until this hour.

13. Und der in dem moment
der zeit sich aus dem
throne der ewigkeit, aus dem
schoos des Vaters, aus
seinem leben (denn er ists
leben) herausgegeben ins
sterblich seyn;

13. Descending from the throne
of endless light,
And from the Father's bosom,
into night,
From out the fullness of life's
source and core
(Which is in him alone for
evermore)
To death's domain,

14. Der sich mit rath und
that von dem Geist, der aus
dem Vater gegangen* heisst,
in ein jungfern-herze hat
lassen wehen, um wie ein ander
kind durchzugehen in diese
zeit;
*Joh. 16

14. He by the Spirit chose to be
controlled—
Who from the Father did pro-
ceed,* we're told—
Borne thus into a virgin's tender
heart
That he his journeying through
time might start
Like any child.
*John 16

15. Der seine kindheit
nach aller art völlig und
mühsam hat ausgewart't,
wie ein ander kindlein sich
ziehen lassen, und in dem hause
und auf den strassen die
pflicht gelernt.

15. And so throughout the
lagging years of youth
He waited till his hour would
come in truth,
Learned duty thus, like any
other boy,
Enduring all restraints which so
annoy
The av'rage child.

16. Wenn ers recht machte,
und nicht so schien, kamen
die eltern und straften
Ihn, wohl vor allen leuten,*
oft ungeschiklich, aber diss
kindlein ward niemals kriklich,
durch alle zucht.
*Luc. 2

16. And though at times his
motives were misread
Since no one grasped just what
he did or said—
His parents being over quick to
blame*—
Yet he did not resent the public
shame
Nor sullen grow.
*Luke 2

17. Die bibel zeiget das
sonnen-klar, wie er den eltern
gehorsam war, und wie
unterthänig er ihnen diente,
so dass sein zeugniss auch
darinn grünte vor iedermann.

17. Instead, the Bible makes it
clear as day
How hard he strove his parents
to obey,
Forever ready at their beck and
call;
And thus he gained a good
report with all
Who knew him well.

18. Nachdem er bis ins
dreyssigste jahr auf seinem
handwerk geblieben war,
ohne allen zweifel in grosser
treue, krigte er endlich die
heilige weyhe zum predigtamt.

18. For thirty years he tarried
at his trade
In which, no doubt, he constantly
displayed
The utmost faithfulness. And
then at length
His hour came, enduing him
with strength
For his great task.

19. Da hat ihn der Heil'ge
Geist ordinirt, und ihn
darnach durch die welt geführt,
wunder-wort und kräfte
in ihm gezeuget, die sich
auch überall bald ereignet
vor aller welt.

19. The Holy Ghost ordained
him and did stay
With him to guide his ev'ry
work and way,
And quickened wondrous powers
in him apace,
And made men marvel at the
matchless grace
His words revealed.

20. So war kein prediger
noch gewest; kein prophet
hatte die welt erlöst von so
manchen plagen; was nur
vor schmerzen dargebracht
wurden dem treuen Herzen!
die heilte es.

20. No preacher ever could with
him compare;
No prophet could remove the
ills men bear
So regally as he. And in their
need
The sick had but their misery
to plead
To gain his aid.

21. Er selber aber war
krank und matt, wies Jesaias
gezeuget hat, recht ein
Mann der schmerzen, melan-
cholien sah man wie nebel
dem Heiland ziehen vors
sel'ge herz.

21. But he himself was sick
and faint and sore
—Isaiah pointed to this long
before—
A Man of Sorrows he and
schooled in grief
Which daily pressed on him
without relief
To cloud his soul.

22. Mancherley äussrer verdruss und dampf, kein eingebildeter seelen-kampf, wie die menschen haben, nein! wahre busse stunde er aus von dem haupt zum fusse für alle welt.

22. He underwent severe distress and strain
Not merely fancied struggles people fain
Would foist on penitence. He set man free,
Himself enduring in reality
The chastening rod.

23. So unbeschreiblich war seine noth, dass er betrübt war bis an den tod, dass er sich im kämpfen und flehn erhitzte, bis er sich blut aus dem leibe schwitzte in einer nacht.

23. We cannot comprehend the agony
Which came upon him in Gethsemane,
That awful night when 'neath the olive trees
He wrestled on in prayer, till by degrees
His sweat ran blood.

24. Er starb und fühlte den tod auch recht, weil dieser weiseste GOttes-Knecht in demselben stande, den er sich wehlte, sich so erniedrigte, dass nichts fehlte en einem wurm.

24. Thus to its dregs death's bitter cup he drained.
For he, the wisest of God's servants, deigned
So utterly himself to mortify
That he was well content to live and die
Just like a worm.

25. Sein leiden endigt' er endlich so; Satan ward seines siegs gleichsam froh; kont er nicht verführen, so kont er tödten, und er verstund erst ins Lammes nöthen, dass er geirrt.

25. At last he terminates his agony,
And Satan fain would gloat in victory.
Had he not killed, where he could not seduce?
Then, all too late, the Lamb's sore griefs induce
Strange doubts in him.

26. Als man ihm hände und füsse band, und seinen leib an den baum gespannt, bohrte man ihm nägel durch händ und füsse, welche die handschrift zugleich durchrisse, die gegen uns.

26. For when they bound the victim hand and foot,
Thus him upon the cruel tree to put,
And pierced his hands and feet with jagged nails,
They tore in shreds the writing that assails
The guilt of man.

27. Das schuldbuch ward damit abgethan, fordrung an unser geschlecht zerrann, und die ganze hölle ward ausgegossen; JEsu wusch seine geschlechts-genossen mit seinem blut.

28. Für die verdammten ist nun kein ort, als nur zur miethe beym teufel, dort in dem feuer-pfuhle, der für die geister, Christi rebellen, und ihren meister geheitzet wird.

29. Der ort, wo ieder mensch hingehört, wenn seine hütte hier ausgezehrt, wird ins grab getragen, ist für die seele, eigentlich nur JEsu wunden-höle, das paradies.

30. Was nach der ungehorsamen that ein bote GOtt's mit dem schwert vertratt, das ward mit dem speere wiederum offen, und diese öffnung wird leicht getroffen, wenn man sie sucht.

31. Wer kindlich alles das gläuben kan, der wird in JESU zum ganzen mann, und wenn der vom stalle und kripplein höret, weiss er kaum recht, was ihm wiederfähret; so wohl wird ihm.

27. The doomsday book was laid aside for aye
With ev'ry claim the human race should pay.
And hell was emptied of its fearful brood;
As Jesus' blood streamed from the holy rood
To cleanse our race.

28. From henceforth all the damned shall search in vain
For hiding place, unless, indeed, they gain
A lodging with their master in that fire
Prepared for rebel spirits who conspire
Against the Christ.

29. There is but one place really meet for man
When his frail flesh ends its appointed span
And slumbers in the grave. For then the soul
Shall find in Jesus' side a hallowed hole,
Its paradise.

30. The way to bliss by trespass once was barred,
A blood-red sword flamed out its gate to guard,
That way the soldier's spear again did ope;
Its portal now swings wide and bids them hope
Who seek for life.

31. For he who is by faith in Christ restored
Shall reach man's full estate in him as Lord.
Each word, then, of the manger and the stall
Must warm his heart with joy surpassing all
The joys of earth.

32. Gelobet seyst du, du Herzens-Lamm! für die blut-freundschaft mit unserm stamm, für dein kinder-werden aus unserm blute, zu der zeit, da es dem ew'gen gute gehässig war.

32. All praise to thee, O Lamb of God most dear,
Who art blood-brother to thy people here!
We bless thee for thy holy infancy
That thou didst deign in all things man to be
When came the time.

33. Wie muss dein herze nicht mit uns seyn, wenn wir uns deiner menschwerdung freun und dich innig lieben? willst du das haben, must du die sünden bey dir begraben, die an uns seyn.

33. Thou surely must take pleasure in our praise
As for thy human birth glad songs we raise.
So, Jesu, tune our lips, our hearts set free,
And cover all our sins beneath the sea
Of thy free grace.

34. Je mehr du uns dann vergeben wirst, du für die sünder geschlachter Fürst! in so grossem grade wirst du geliebet: denn ie mehr uns die schuld-rechnung übet, ie lieber loss.

34. For then, the more we have thy pardon found,
O slaughtered Prince with thorns for sinners crowned,
The more shall love for thee our bosoms fill;
For none of those whose debt is cancelled will
Forget the cost.

35. So viel dich unter uns schon erkannt, als du den zorn hast von uns gewandt, so viel waren sünder in grossem grade, und darum haben wir auch die gnade und lieben sehr.

35. Each one among us, knowing thee in truth,
And freed from endless wrath in very sooth,
Recalls the guilt from which he is now shriv'n
And, realizing much has been forgiv'n,
He loves the more.

36. Nun haben wir auch keinen andern schmerz als deine treue, du liebes Herz! nicht gnug anzubeten. Wie mit dem besen ist, was ins schuld-buch geheft't gewesen, hinaus gekehrt.

36. O loved one, henceforth we shall grieve at nought
But failure to adore thee as we ought!
For thou in love hast swept our record clear
As with a broom. No tallies now appear
Upon our score.

37. Wie du doch liebetest und noch liebst! und dich den seelen so gerne gibst! Wird auch deines gleichen für uns auf erden oder im himmel gefunden werden? Wir sagen: Nein!

37. How peerless was thy love, 'tis peerless still!
How thou dost with thyself our being fill!
Can we find aught like thee or like thy love
On earth beneath or in the heav'ns above?
We answer: No!

The diarist gives us the following description of the festivities held that winter evening:

> Monday, the 13/24 of December, 1742 . . . Since, according to the new style [the Gregorian calendar], Christmas Eve falls on this day, the congregation assembled in the evening at eleven o'clock for the Christmas Eve Vigils, in order that we might celebrate in fellowship with our European, German congregations. The celebration began with a love feast service. We were reminded that just a year ago on this day Bethlehem received its name, that exactly six months ago this congregation was organized and that on this day, twenty-two years ago, Brother Ludwig [Count Zinzendorf] and Frederick de Watteville formed their compact to serve the Lord, each of the two being now engaged in such service with blessing. For all this the watchword of the day suited very well: "And the name of the city from that day shall be: the Lord is there." Ezekiel 48:35.
>
> Brother Ludwig sang extemporaneously for this occasion the hymn, *Glückseliger ist uns doch keine Nacht, als die uns das Wunderkind hat gebracht*, etc. Appendix XI, No. 1860. We spent these blessed Christmas Eve hours in reverent reflection upon the humble birth of the Son of God and Son of Man, in reverent singing and prayer until one o'clock after midnight.[1]

Appendix XI to the *Herrnhuter Gesangbuch* appeared in 1743, Zinzendorf having sent the material for it to Europe just before he left America. In this appendix Hymn 1860 is entitled *In der Christ-Nacht zu Bethlehem 1742* ("On Christmas Eve in Bethlehem 1742"). It contains thirty-seven stanzas as reproduced above. It does not reappear in subsequent editions of the hymnal of the Moravian church until Christian Gregor published his outstanding collection in Barby in 1778. The hymn is Number 89

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[1] *Translation by Dr. W. N. Schwarze, achivist of the Moravian Church.*

in that edition. Gregor reduced its length to twenty stanzas and polished a number of expressions which Zinzendorf had used. Periodically since then the hymn has been further abbreviated; in the current hymnal of the German province of the Moravian Church it is shorn of all but four stanzas and appears as Hymn 83. The surviving stanzas represent the first, thirty-third, thirty-fourth and last in the original. Gregor's phraseology has been retained with further alterations in lines one and two of stanza three (or thirty-four).

An English version of the hymn appeared just twelve years after Zinzendorf had composed it. This translation is so literal as to be almost unintelligible, at times; it appears as number 168 in the second part of *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, From the Beginning till now*. Since John Gambold was the editor of this hymnal, presumably the translation was his work, too. In the hymnal published in London in 1769, *A Collection of Hymns, chiefly extracted from the Larger Hymn-Book of the Brethren's Congregations,* the hymn reappears in a revised form; it now contains only thirty-five stanzas. Subsequent English hymnals omit it entirely.

Readers will unanimously agree that this is not distinguished poetry. Of course, ordinary standards should not be pressed too strictly where improvisation is concerned. But even when due allowance is made for the manner of its inception, this specimen leaves much to be desired in the way of excellence as sacred song. However, this Christmas hymn of two hundred years ago is significant for other reasons. It affords a good example of what Zinzendorf aimed at in his religious poetry, and it exhibits certain important characteristics of Moravian teaching in his day.

With Zinzendorf poetry never was an end in itself. He had no wish to produce art for art's sake. He looked upon poetry as a useful instrument for kindling religious emotion, for helping men to "see" the object of spiritual devotion; thus faith could be stimulated in their hearts. Especially in hymnody—and no man ever had a higher conception than he of the function of the hymn in congregational wor-

ship—Zinzendorf sought to arouse and to cultivate definite religious sensibilities. In his opinion the excellence of a hymn lay in the effectiveness with which it impelled those who sang it to lift up their hearts to God in loving, joyous trust. And he counted on achieving this result by the message which the hymn conveyed, not by any beauty of form in which the thought could be clad.

Indeed, Zinzendorf purposely employed rough, unbeautiful terms and figures which would ordinarily be taboo in religious poetry. Examples of this can be found in the hymn under discussion, for example, *kriklich* in stanza sixteen, or *geschlachter Fürst* in stanza thirty-four. His express aim in doing this was to shock his hearers out of any complacent, unthinking acceptance of the far-reaching implications contained in traditional Christian doctrines. In his opinion, the church lacked vitality in his day just because there were too many people of the class described in stanzas seven and eight of this hymn. He welcomed any device whereby he could get people to realize the radical nature of claims made in the New Testament.

Therefore, Zinzendorf also reveled in paradox, going at times to considerable length of overstatement in order to sharpen inherent contrasts. A classic example of this practice is to be found in the closing phrases of stanza nine in the hymn before us; surely the Biblical record does not warrant the adjective *schmutz'ge* and would hardly support the *bettel-windel.* Similarly, though the word *wurm,* as applied to the state of man when unendued with the grace of God, supplied Moravians in his day with a favorite analogy, it is a bold expression to apply to Christ himself, even for the purpose of expressing the depth of his humiliation; yet Zinzendorf uses it thus in stanza twenty-four.

Zinzendorf's Christmas hymn is a gospel narrative in miniature, set to verse simply in order to conform to the mechanics considered essential for song. This type of hymn was a favorite of his. In this he shows the influence of hymnody current in the reformation period with which he was extensively acquainted and for which he had highest

regard. As in many early Lutheran hymns, the central theme of this Bethlehem Christmas Hymn is that of salvation by the free grace of God and appropriated by the believer in faith.

But other doctrines are indicated also, doctrines important for an understanding of Zinzendorf's theological position. Probably the most significant of these is outlined in stanzas ten, eleven and twelve. Zinzendorf conceived the second Person in the Trinity to have taken the initiative in all dealings of the Godhead with man: in creation, in the conception and execution of the plan of redemption, in the government of the church. This led Zinzendorf to a reversal of the customary emphasis upon Father and Son both in teaching and worship, whereby he brought constant criticism upon himself from contemporary theologians. As to the essential nature of the atonement, the accountant's concept, as it repeatedly appears in the closing portion of the hymn — notably in stanzas twenty-six, twenty-seven and thirty-six—is the view commonly stressed by him. And the reference, in stanza twenty-five, to Satan's misgivings concerning his apparent triumph over Christ conforms to Zinzendorf's theory that in his death Christ outwitted the devil.[2]

Several other emphases deserve at least passing notice. Stanza twenty-two unquestionably was inserted for the particular benefit of the Halle Pietists, since one of the points on which Zinzendorf had broken with them was their insistence upon *Busskampf*, almost stereotyped in its characteristic manifestation, as being necessary in any true conversion. Zinzendorf sensed in this demand a trace of that reliance upon human merit which he abhorred, a disguised *quid pro quo* offered in lieu of good works. He held that Christ had fought mankind's *Busskampf* vicariously and once for all in Gethsemane.

Furthermore, a careful reading of the hymn will pro-

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[2] This idea is expressed, for instance, in the last of his *Seven Sermons on the Godhead of the Lamb.*

vide evidence of the beginning of that development which Zinzendorf himself later came to regard as a "period of sifting" for the Moravian church. It culminated toward the end of the 1740's. Phraseology became current throughout much of the Moravian Church which offended good taste and which tended to obscure the full reality and the effectiveness of Christ's work, though it had been designed to exalt these very aspects of his life and death. Phrases, such as the *Herzens-Lamm*, found in stanza thirty-two, came to be used with ever increasing profuseness. The idea expressed in stanza twenty-nine, that the soul of the dying Christian would find paradise in the Saviour's pierced side (to which it could also trace its birth), is a central theme in the strange symbolism of that period.

Yet despite all this the hymn is not wanting in striking images and stirring lines—at least such is the opinion of the writer of these comments. Consider the concept found in stanza twelve of the patience of God manifested in his restraining his eagerness to accomplish the salvation of man and of the resultant significance of the "fullness of the time" for God himself. Or read again the closing stanza and note the warm terms with which it speaks of the interplay of divine and human love. Surely these are expressions worthy of the man who, under God, revived the *Unity of the Brethren.*

Nazareth—An American Theocracy

A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, on October 10, 1940

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The bi-centennial of the founding of Nazareth in 1740 received its proper formal and official recognition, both sacred and secular, in the fortnight's celebration which occurred last June and July.

Catholic in scope, even to the extent of preparing and publishing an historical record of the community through two crowded centuries, the enterprise succeeded admirably in recalling to modern generations the factual evidences of the life and times of their forefathers, in fostering that proper pride in one's past which in turn fosters the will to achieve in the future.

But neither the history nor the pageant, nor withal the multifarious exhibits and activities of the celebration were intended to be critical or analytical in the interpretative sense; and so it seems meet and right that, today, we of the Moravian Historical Society should examine anew this ancient foundation, not as Nazarenes, nor even as Moravians—for I happen to be neither—but rather from the view-point of the timeless tide of political evolution.

The Nazareth of the first century was a Moravian community; it soon became an American community in a distinctly nationally political and linguistic, if not social, sense; even its spiritual side lost the European emphasis after the General Synod of 1818; and nowhere was this trend to the American way of life more evident than as the

cardinal cause for the foundation of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary wherein to train young men on this side of the Atlantic for the service of the Church.

But in one great respect, that of local government, Nazareth had its roots deep in the ancient past, a past older than the Japan of the Son of Heaven; older than the England of the Stuart theory of kingship by divine right; older than the Geneva of John Calvin; older than the papacy; Islam or Brahmanism: the past of the premonarchic Israel of Moses and Aaron, when Israel was a theocracy.

This is not a discourse on theology, nor do I claim to any understanding whatsoever thereof, but this afternoon I should like to consider some of the features, ideas, or procedures in the Nazareth of Spangenberg's General Economy and after which, I at least feel, bear a marked resemblance to the theocratic practices of Israel as portrayed by the historian, Josephus, and its European successor, the Geneva of John Calvin.

Before we proceed to analogies, let us define our terms. A theocracy was a type of national polity, even as we speak of a democracy or an aristocracy, but based specifically on the principle of government by God. This concept was the dominant factor in Israelite polity and was unique among the polities of Josephus' time. As C. Ryder Smith has put it in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* "it is the leading instance of theocracy for all times," for "in Israel the idea of the sole rule of a single God survived all the vicissitudes of history." (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Twelve volumes. New York, 1928. XII. 287-289.) And it was the Israelites who, in glorifying Jawah or Jehovah, proceeded to make Moses the "law-giver," and then evolve the normal triune organ of theocracy in Jehovah's Shrine, Jehovah's Book, and Jehovah's Priest.

If, this, then, be the true theocracy, it is evident that the Stuart theory of kingship by divine right was not by any means a theocracy, for a self-anointed Stuart could

hardly function as Jehovah's Priest, particularly without the weighty support of Jehovah's Shrine or Jehovah's Book (the latter in spite of the King James Version which, from my own observation of the history of Stuart England, never bothered Charles I and II or James II very much!).

But there was one European community where a theocratic government was practiced, and this was the Geneva of John Calvin between 1541 and 1564 where, despite Calvin's theoretical separation thereof in his Institutes of the Christian Religion, the close practical union of state and church bordered on a mathematically perfect identity. (T. I. Cook, History of Political Philosophy from Plato to Burke. New York, 1937, p. 330.) As Professor Wallace K. Ferguson, of New York University, has put it, "Calvin and his followers tended to take their conceptions of God and morality more from the Hebraic Old Testament than from the New. To the Calvinist moral laws were veritable laws, such as Jehovah had handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai, and in enforcing moral laws, including the strict observation of the Hebrew Sabbath, Calvinistic rulers and ministers felt that they were carrying out the will of Jehovah." (Ferguson and Bruun. Survey of European Civilization. New York, 1938, pp. 498-499.) How close to the Israelite concept Calvin had come can thus be seen in his administration of Geneva, which Professor Ferguson has so aptly called the "laboratory in which Calvin worked out the practical application of his doctrine," and where he was "the real ruler" for the remainder of his life.

As Professor Franklin C. Palm, of the University of California, has so well said, "Geneva was a queer town, French in language, Italian in religion, Swiss in politics, and commercially and industrally German." (Thompson, Palm and Van Nostrand. European Civilization. New York, 1939. p. 600.): all of which, it seems, helped to make it a fertile field for the Calvinistic ethics which emphasized the puritan denial of personal freedom but

exalted material achievement and financial profit to the point of construing the taking of interest as not merely lawful but an absolute duty. Thus it was a natural *sequitur* for Calvin to hold that failure to achieve material success in proportion to one's ability was sin. It was therefore in complete accordance with the doctrine found in his Institutes of the Christian Religion—that God was the Master Workman who worked six days and rested the seventh—that Geneva's social and economic life was controlled as rigidly as its soul by one whom Professor Chester C. Maxey, of Whitman College, has so pertinently pronounced "its Protestant pope." (C. C. Maxey. Political Philosophies. New York, 1938. p. 156.)

In the labor of making Geneva, in H. A. L. Fisher's pungent phrase, "an evangelical republic" (H. A. L. Fisher. *History of Europe.* Boston, 1939. p. 554), Calvin having discovered that the unworthy were barred from the communion table during the first three centuries of Christianity, "determined to revive that ancient discipline, and to confine the supreme privilege of the church to worshippers of a proved and tested godliness" (Fischer. pp. 555-556). Thus he was quite content that "in Geneva the strong arm of the magistrate should assist the church."

This theocracy, thus compounded, as Prof. Cook has shown, of ethical aristocracy and incipient democracy (Cook. p. 327), was firmly founded on the rock of the eternal verities, for, if God created the universe and the universe is one, and that unity is the unity of a higher law proceeding from God's will, then men cannot change it, and written law is naught but the exposition of the law of God as contained in the Bible. Therefore, government, which sinful mankind so sadly needs, means justice, the justice of the law ordained by God. And if one asks why a justice based on the law ordained by God, Calvin's answer is his fundamental doctrine, as Prof. Cook phrases it, that "it is the duty of the state to serve the church and to carry out its interpretation of the will of God" (Cook. pp. 331-332).

Thus, in ultimate physical actuality, state and the church were united through Calvin and government became, in essence, theocracy or, as Prof. Cook neatly puts it, "bibliocracy, the direct rule of God in the state through his ministers on earth, with the Bible as the sole source of law. The essence of the Calvinistic reformation was—insistence on the direct rule of God on earth—Christ is King, and He creates society, which in its turn erects both church and state for the perfect realization of an order pleasing in God's sight. The state, however, is little more than the executive arm of the church, which, once more as in the Catholic theory may not use force, since force would sully its purity" (Cook. p. 333).

It was thus on this foundation that Calvin set up a government in Geneva, the power of which lay largely in his own hands. As the Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs put it, after 1541 "no king in Europe exercised so much power as did John Calvin. This power was altogether moral: it was not that of a tyrant. He had no official position except that of simple pastor." (J. H. Dubbs. Leaders of the Reformation. Philadelphia, 1898. pp. 113-114). But it was his leadership which evolved the theory, in Professor Cook's words, "that the synod, composed of Calvinist ministers, laid down a moral discipline, that the magistrates hunted out those whose behavior was offensive to God's Order as interpreted in that discipline, that the Consistory and the Council had judicial authority, and that the magistrates thereupon punished those found guilty for their sins" (Cook. p. 333). In short, Calvinism here emulated the Catholic Inquisition and presaged the New England Puritan heretic hunter. Or, as Prof. George Catlin, of Cornell University, has so neatly put it, "Pinchbeck Geneva claimed all the authoritarianism of Rome in order to impose the rigid regulation of a Carthusian priory upon the common layman" (G. Catlin. *The Story of the Political Philosophers*. New York, 1939. p. 218).

Having established the supremacy of God's word as man's law, and having ordained the necessity of government by obedience to that law and to the rulers thereof, Calvin proceeded not illogically to the doctrine of constancy or immutability, whereby he sought to prevent by legal and moral interpretation all agitation for social or governmental reform, since "what is, is ordained of God, and even cruel tyranny is part of His mysterious plan" (Cook. pp. 334-335).

With the death of Calvin in 1564, the practice, if not the theory, of theocracy ceased. As has been shown, the divine right concept of the Stuarts was far from theocratic, and it took the Puritan and Separatist leaven to evolve the semblance of theocracy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

But where a theocracy as such was a rarity, the communal life was beginning to appear in other parts of America, usually as the practice of some religious society. Thus in Pennsylvania the German pietists under Johannes Kelpius, who came to the banks of the Wissahickon in 1694; the Dunkers or German Baptist Brethren, who came to eastern Pennsylvania in the dawn of the eighteenth century and whose off-shoot, the Seventh Day Baptists, founded the Ephrata Cloister in 1728, and the Schwenkfelders who settled in Montgomery County in 1734, set the precedent for the Shakers and the Rappites in western Pennsylvania and Indiana; the German Separatists, at Zoar, Ohio; the Amana Society of Iowa, and the Oneida Community in New York State. All the other communities, such as Robert Owen's New Harmony colony, Charles Fourier's phalanx system and the transcendentalist Brook Farm near Boston were strictly secular societies.

But there was one settlement in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania which was the foundation of a religious society, which followed chronologically and even somewhat geographically the Schwenkfelders, and which united within itself the theocratic form of governance and

the communal form of a social economy. This was the Moravian settlement of 1740 on the Barony of Nazareth, a settlement composed of five separate units: Nazareth or Old Nazareth, as it was called after 1771; Christian Spring; Gnadenthal; Friedensthal, and the Rose Inn.

The factual history of this achievement has been recorded and needs no reiteration. But, as President Schwarze so properly pointed out in his bi-centennial sermon on June 30 (1940), "there are other ways of dealing with past events besides the method that is characteristic of the scientific historian. We want not only accurate reports of past events, we want these events interpreted to us in terms of meaning, value, significance." I therefore crave your indulgence and invite you to join me in an exploration of the factual history to see whether or not the story of Nazareth bears theocratic attributes like those of Calvin's Geneva and, if so, in what instances.

In the first place, Nazareth was founded by a communion which itself was the direct spiritual heir of John Hus, who preceded by well over a century the John Calvin who brought the Reformation and theocracy to Geneva.

It was therefore, in the words of Dr. Schwarze, "a distinctively Christian settlement, cherishing lofty Christian ideals." But, as he then points out, this does not relieve it of a proper examination of its historical course, because the entire order of Christianity has been a series of historical events.

And nowhere is this connection between the historical and the spiritual more clearly manifest than in the causes which led the Moravians across the Atlantic and then brought them from their original haven in Georgia to the confluence of the Lehigh and the Monocacy in Pennsylvania, and thence to the Barony of Nazareth. It was the driving force of spiritual and imminent physical oppression which sped that first band under Spangenberg and the second group under Nitschmann to seek a haven of refuge in James Oglethorpe's Georgia; but it was the equally driving force of conscience which, precluding

personal physical participation in the struggle against Spain, sped the Moravian migration of 1740 to William Penn's haven for pietists.

There is something of Calvin's rule in Geneva in the very foundation of the Nazareth community for the decision of 1742 to make Nazareth the central church village and Bethlehem the school center was the work of the hierarchy, not of the people.

But the earliest—and perhaps the most significant—parallel came in the adoption in 1745 of Spangenberg's plan or theory of the General Economy, which was to be Nazareth's mode of life for the next two decades. This plan, in brief, implied a community of labor rather than of goods, for the common cause, which was always the missionary ministry of the church. And it is not unfair to suggest that the leadership and personal influence of Spangenberg at this stage closely paralleled that of Calvin in Geneva, for this reference to Spangenberg in the *History of Nazareth* could equally well apply to Calvin: "His redoubtable energy and keen insight found expression in every conceivable manner for, to him, no task was either too great or too trivial as long as he deemed it to be the Lord's will." (*History of Nazareth*, p. 15).

A major parallel lies in the organization of the respective communities. Eighty years after its founding, Nazareth still held the repute that it was composed of "a people who live according to the Bible" (*History of Nazareth*, p. 134), and both its corporate organization and its moral code confirm the comparison with Calvin's Geneva. You may remember Professor Cook's assertion, which I quoted earlier, that it was Calvin's leadership which evolved the theory "that the synod, composed of Calvinist ministers, laid down a moral discipline, that the Consistory and the Council had judicial authority, and that the magistrates thereupon punished those found guilty for their sins." In this sentence substitute the Overseers' Committee for synod, consistory, Council and Magistrates, and you will find this one church body uniting powers both ecclesiasti-

cal and temporal in the adjudication and punishment of error.

Nor was the punishment of the sinner the only instance of regulation. Even as Calvin severely regulated the personal life and habits of the Genevans, so, too, did the hierarchy of Nazareth control the will and wishes of the Brethren. Not only the conduct of the populace on Sundays was regulated, but to a great extent the garb, certainly of the Sisters, was determined by tradition.

Nor was the administration of certain regulations of social intercourse always consistent. Noted architecturally for its groined arches, the old brewery at Christian Spring was the source whence the heirs to Pilsener tradition, not unlike the Carthusian monks of Chartreuse, sent forth as a commercial medium that which, particularly during Christmas and New Year's Eve vigils, and during the American Revolution, was to cause trouble at the Rose Inn. For while the Brethren had no objections to the profits from their brew, they were annoyed and distressed by the ebullient exuberance of itinerant inebriates who invaded Nazareth either at the Christmas season or because, during the Revolution, the Rose Inn proved a vital center for troop movements to and from New York and New England.

But while the recurrent presence of troops brought alien visitors and unseemly deportment, the Revolution revived the old Georgia problem of military service, and this time the British parliamentary guarantee of immunity therefrom, in the act of 1749, so hard won with the help of Oglethorpe, was no longer valid. In this respect there was no comparison whatsoever with Calvin's position of constancy or immutability against all change. His was a violently militant Christianity only when favoring the permanent, conservative, aye, reactionary order of existence. We can conceive of Calvin calling his Genevans together to tell them "concerning the present trouble in the country," as were the Brethren on May 7th and again on May 11th, 1775; but Calvin, who, in Professor Cook's

phrase, "utterly rejects the idea of conscientious objection," (Cook, p. 336); would never have stopped with this injunction to the men of Nazareth: "We were told how to behave as children of God at this time—We have been reminded regarding the trouble in the country, that we should manage to speak to strangers impartially. It were better to tell people that we do not understand the matter." Calvin would have proclaimed the creed of the High Tory and the Established order. But this last quotation from the Nazareth Diaries indicates indubitably why they are silent on all the great acts of the Revolution!

Nevertheless there is ample evidence of the conflict of conscience which continued throughout these critical months and years. Except for William Edmonds' service in the old Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, the Brethren had barely "rendered unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and otherwise held aloof from participation in or, in some cases even, understanding of, provincial political problems. But the warning on October 16, 1776, of the deputy from the Northampton County Committee of Safety, that "all men and boys from sixteen to fifty years of age who had not as yet drilled for service must pay a fine of two pounds, ten shillings," brought the Brethren face to face with an inescapable issue. They appealed against the fine at Easton on May 10, 1777, but in vain, so that a few days later the deputy reappeared, this time with seven soldiers, and, in the pungent words of the diary, "mulcted the Brethren for the money they had been fined for not having drilled and for not bearing arms." This unhappy experience was repeated in December when, despite due warning of the consequences attendant upon the Brethren's stubborn decision to remain quiet about the matter and just not drill, the Sheriff and his Constable came to Nazareth and gathered fines to a total of eighty pounds.

It was this financial punishment which led some of the younger Brethren to join the Militia secretly, at least to the extent of attending the exercises on drill day; but it

was the rise of a great leader which now helped the Brethren to gain the goodwill of both the Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Continental Congress. This was that noble soul, John Ettwein, who at long last has received, in Dr. Kenneth Hamilton's brilliant biography, the tribute he so richly deserved. For it was John Ettwein and Ettwein alone who, by his tireless efforts, established once and for all the place of the test oath in American life and the rights of the conscientious objector under a compulsory draft law. And he achieved his end without the loss of any self-respect or dignity, either on his own part or on that of the Brethren as a body, for his personal reputation with the highest authorities from Washington down helped immeasurably to give the Moravians in general the high repute which they henceforth enjoyed despite their previous shortsighted failure to appreciate both the significance of the American Revolution and the consequent invalidation in an insurgent Pennsylvania of 1777 of a British Parliament's Exemption Act of nigh three decades before.

But if in 1777 the Moravians were reluctant to sever their ancient ties with the Britain, which had befriended them, by 1786 they were ready to take the oath of allegiance to the sovereign State of Pennsylvania; and in October of that year a number of the Brethren went to Easton, to the county seat, to vote for representatives to the Assembly and other officials.

On this occasion they were allowed a free expression of personal judgment but when, in September, 1787, the new Constitution of the United States was signed and laid before the states for ratification by state conventions, the members of which were to be chosen by the people, a new problem arose as to what part these newly enfranchised citizens should play and what position they should assume on this vital issue. On this question of suffrage Calvin leaned somewhat toward democracy. He would never have sanctioned the Revolution—for the people "had no right to resist their legitimate rulers" (Cook, p. 341). . . .

but, in his theory of the "rule of selected judges," as Professor Cook points out, Calvin affirmed that "these were to be elected by the people. Rule was by the best, a moral aristocracy, but the people themselves were the judges as to who deserved a reputation for goodness," (Cook, p. 339). But in Nazareth the Brethren received their instructions in the name of unity as precisely as any loyal adherent of Grundy or Hague. Having been called to the Hall on the evening of November 2, 1787, the Brethren of legal voting age were duly and officially informed by Pastor Charles G. Reichel that, "in view of the coming election of delegates to ratify the proposed Constitution for the United States of America," the Church fathers, for the sake of harmony and the requirements of the congregational constitution, had ordained that "prior to each election, the Overseers' Committee in each congregation should appoint a number of Brethren who, in behalf of the congregation, should attend the election." In effect, the advice of the church officials should be sought and, in order to preserve their character as a unity of the Brethren, they should avoid all party spirit, lest others think the Brethren do not agree among themselves. The names of the chosen delegates were then announced and this politico-ecclesiastical caucus was ended. But with the subsequent ratification of the Constiution, even worse was to come the next year.

With the election for the first Congress of the United States only a fortnight distant, the Overseers' Committee, instead of choosing only a limited number to go to Easton and vote, flatly ordained that "as many of the Brethren as can readily do so, attend, and support the ticket which the Federalists have nominated at their Lancaster convention," adding, as a kind of hedging afterthought, "but without offence to the opposition." This, of course, is the quintessence of totalitarian dictatorship, known politically in the United States as "bossism," and when repeated in the selection of presidential electors on January 7, 1789,

qualified the hierarchy to serve as a model for the Chicago conventions of both 1920 and 1940.

In yet another respect did the Brethren match, if not exceed, the Calvinist creed. We have seen the regulation of the individual's own life as to matters of costume and adornment. But the Brethren went farther, for the choice of a life partner was not in one's own hands. One of the customs which the first Moravians brought with them from Europe had been that of marriage by lot, and it was not until 1799 that this procedure received the shock it so richly deserved when, in the words of the *History of Nazareth,* "Early in May a trusted and highly esteemed Brother informed the Elders' Conference by letter that, having loved her in silence for two whole years, he had proposed to a certain widow, equally esteemed by all, and that her reply had been that "she could live and die with him." Fully aware of the rules and of how shocked the Brethren would be, he asked permission to live with her in Schoeneck. The Elders, duly horrified, not only denied this request, but also denied them the spiritual blessing of marriage by a minister of the Moravian Church, although no charges against the couple had or could be made, and the Overseers' Committee, in an extraordinary meeting, ordered "that within twelve days this man should move from here, together with the woman of his choice." The rule of marriage by lot had been broken but, in the words of the diary, "in spite of that they were married" by a neighboring Justice of the Peace, an act which in itself automatically expelled them from the congregation. This marriage, however, was not the end, but a beginning, for henceforth the practice of marriage by lot waned in Nazareth and only a few years later the couple entered into full fellowship as esteemed members of the congregation at Schoeneck." (*History of Nazareth,* pp. 72-73). Marriage by lot was finally abolished by the General Synod of 1818, and "must" became "should," so that when in 1820 a young man, eager to marry, was found hardly financially able, the joint committee *advised* him to postpone even

his engagement, but promised its aid as soon as his circumstances showed improvement. It is true that France has always affirmed the value of the *mariage de convenance* and the paternally arranged marriage, the history of which includes a surprising number of unions which turned out exceedingly well; but the America of the dawn of the nineteenth century was probably the last region on earth where such a custom or policy could hope to succeed.

Thus it is important to note that the quarter of a century from the creation of the national government under George Washington to the close of the General Synod of 1818, which marked the emancipation of the American Moravian Church from the dominant traditionalism of the European mould, was itself marked in Nazareth by a cleansing tide of liberalism which brought the Brethren "not less piety, but more freedom, not less ethics, but more understanding of their personal rights as well as their basic obligations." (*History of Nazareth,* p. 74).

With the revision of certain social concepts came a new vision of economic ideas and here, too, the Moravians of Nazareth moved closer to the position of Calvin. As Professor Cook has so clearly shown, Calvin's economic theory included a strong defence of the right of private property and of decent living. "To be well-dressed and live in substantially comfortable circumstances was perfectly proper, provided one was not wasteful, vainglorious or conspicuous in one's behavior. Earthly display was vanity and showed a lack of proper recognition that one's position was given by God and was not the outcome of one's own efforts." (Cook, p. 337). In this latter criticism of "conspicuous consumption" or what the modern world would call "keeping up with the Joneses," Calvin, of course, was in perfect accord with the great American economist, whom many Americans regard as a Cassandra, Thorstein Veblen. But the Nazareth of 1800, while eschewing "conspicuous consumption" and, in fact, anything conspicuous, had turned away from the communal idea to the concept

of private capitalistic enterprise: "Land was now rented or even sold, instead of merely allotted for working; property rights were created, and their corollary, personal debt, was recognized; and, here and there, there appeared gradually shopkeepers, artisans, craftsmen, no longer confined to the economic straightjacket of the Economy, but rising through thrift, diligence, honest toil and hard long labor, to a distinctly proprietary position." (*History of Nazareth,* p. 83). And it is not extreme to suggest that this incursion into private capitalism was, more than any other single factor, a vital cause for the subsequent transition of Nazareth, half a century later, from a closed village to a modern community.

But if the Nazareth of the Moravians was closely akin to the Geneva of Calvin in its social regulations and its economic theories and practices, it differed completely in one ideal and practice, an expression of faith which has become a priceless heritage to this communion. The doctrinal dogmatism of Calvin was completely alien to the Moravian concept of true Christian fellowship, and the former's zealous burning of Servetus bears no comparison to Zeisberger's and Heckewelder's lifelong labors among the Indians or the fine friendship of faith that flowered between the Moravian clergy of Nazareth and their Lutheran and Reformed colleagues in Easton and Allentown and their environs. It was this beautiful harmony of interdenominational relations which so greatly eased the change in the status of Nazareth from a closed Moravian village to an open, secular borough, first in the creation in 1845 of the Society which provided at last for non-Moravians or former Moravians who had married outside the faith, and later, in 1856, when the Overseers' Committee made so generous a contribution toward the purchase of a church site in the borough by the joint Lutheran and Reformed committee.

It has been my endeavor this afternoon to present certain evidences that would tend to confirm the thesis that the Nazareth of Spangenberg and the ensuing first century

was an American theocracy, founded on the same bibliocratic concepts as the Israelite kingdom described by Josephus, and organized on the same theocratic concepts of governance as the Geneva of John Calvin. But the evidence also shows indisputably that this American theocracy, availing itself of all the advantages which the march of time and circumstance, of knowledge and reason and general enlightenment, has bestowed upon our greatly blessed continent and nation, has been and has become the greatest exemplar of the power for good of a Christian people, for it is not idle flattery of the Moravians by an alien to affirm that, had the spirit of Christian brotherhood as manifest in mid-century Moravian Nazareth permeated the era of the Reformation and the modern world, not only Calvin's Geneva but all mankind, even unto the four corners of the earth, would have been the better therefor.

The Settlement of Nazareth

By The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Address delivered at the Historical Service, conducted by the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Pa., Bi-Centennial Celebration, June 30, 1940

We are assembled at this time and place in obedience to the impulse that bids us honor the past. Everything, however humble, has its history, and that history would be valuable, could it be faithfully written. Time invests the works of man with interest, because every worthy accomplishment has its tale of motives and plans, devotion and aspiration, hope and struggle, toil and sacrifice, the annals of which excite our sympathy and admiration. All the more do we esteem the past, because, while men vanish as shadows, the works of their hands endure. Their names may be forgotten, yet we enjoy the liberty for which they fought, have entered upon the privileges and comforts for which they labored, are benefited by the institutions they reared, sit under the roof which they built. Indeed, the present is the product of the past. The roots of today have been nourished by all previous days, even as an atom of matter represents the forces of the universe and is related to the laws that govern the beginnings of things. Only as we understand the past shall we realize the necessities of the present and our duties with respect to them. Of particular value to an understanding of the past are the histories of those movements, enterprises, institutions and communities that have attracted to their establishment and support the activities of many men in sucessive generations. Persons and events, deeds and sentiments of former years cluster about them, give them character and power. They have felt influences issuing from nearer and remoter sources, and in them forces of the past are ever revived.

Such considerations, to which people of America are now more responsive than was formerly the case, have made wholly fitting the publication of a "History of Nazareth," as perhaps the most significant feature of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the community. Great credit is due the General Committee that planned for such a book. And all who are interested in the faithful presentation of historical narrative will feel themselves under lasting obligation to the supervising editor, the compiler of the materials, and the corps of translators of the extensive detailed manuscript documents on which the work is based. It is significant that but few communities of our country are able to recount their history from authentic records reaching back to the first day of the settlement.

And now that the story has been so adequately presented, as built up on voluminous and informative original source materials, citizens should acquaint themselves and, particularly, the younger generation with its significant details.

For these have manifold meaning. On this occasion we may appropriately think of some phases of their spiritual, their religious value and significance. The more so, as given the facts, we feel the urge to get at their meaning. The historian aims to report events with scrupulous accuracy and fidelity. He tries to be absolutely impartial and without bias. He goes back to report precisely what happened in a given epoch. But there are other ways of dealing with past events besides the method that is characteristic of the scientific historian. We want not only accurate reports of past events, we want these events interpreted to us in terms of meaning, value, significance. We want these events lifted up and read in the light of the aims and objectives that operated in the minds of the actors. Instead of having a cold transcript of the past, we would be caught up into its movement, we would live the experiences over again and feel something working in the

events and in the actors that transcends any detailed casual description.

Nazareth was a distinctly Christian settlement, cherishing lofty Christian ideals. Now, so far as Christianity is concerned, its nature and its manifestations, there has been the tendency in recent years to decry the mere facts of history and lay the greater stress on the doctrine of the Gospel, on the ground that it is the Word of the transcendent God, that whatever in that Word is temporal, whatever is simply historical is not essential to its character as the Word of God. Well and good. Nevertheless, admitting the main truth of these contentions, we are not relieved of the duty of asking the historical question. The Gospels are Christian documents, and it belongs to the specific character of Christianity that it is an historical religion. Some other religions have been indifferent to historical fact, and some departures from the Christian religion have disliked historical fact. Christianity can do neither. It rests upon the affirmation that a series of events happened in which God revealed Himself in action through the Christ for the salvation of men. The Gospels claim to tell us what happened, and it is a matter of highest import whether their testimony is in fact true. They do not profess to gratify a purely historical curiosity about past events, but they do set out to nurture faith upon the testimony of such events.

In considering Christianity as an historical religion, it is not implied that it arose out of a series of historical events, or simply that it had a history of its own, running more or less parallel to the general history of the world, but that it depends on a valuation of historical events as a medium of God's revelation of Himself in action. As one writer has put it, it is "of the essence of the Gospel . . . that the historical order—the order within which we must live and work—has received a specific character from the entrance into it of the eternal Word of God." Through historical events we come to understand somewhat better

what Christianity is and how it is propagated under varying conditions.

And is not that illustrated, to a degree, in the history of this community which we have in mind today? While the arrangements devised at Nazareth, during the first three years, were of such a temporary nature as any colony, involving a group of people, strangers in a strange land, might institute for common subsistence and the maintenance of their ideas of order, the purpose of this settlement with that of Bethlehem as centers of proposed evangelistic, missionary and educational effort was ever in mind. That gave to significant features of these settlements a degree of religious character, ordered the nature of regulations of internal discipline, and prompted systematic prosecution of first undertakings. Out of experiences thus gained by these community beginnings, facing opportunities offered by conditions that obtained in the regions roundabout, and supplemented by such suggestions as Spangenberg, their leader, had been able to glean from religious communities of every sort as well as from Moravian communities elsewhere, there emerged under his administration an elaborate and interesting establishment called the General Economy. The plan was distinctive for the time and these two communities, for never before nor since have the Moravians attempted a similar plan anywhere else on the same scale. It was peculiar to just these conditions in which they found themselves and arose out of them. With its central management at Bethlehem, it included the inhabitants and enterprises of Bethlehem, the personnel and operations of the several settlements on the Nazareth land, as well as evangelistic itineracy, school establishments, and Indian missions at many places conducted from this center.

It was no mere emergency plan, though, doubtless, intended to be a temporary measure. Spangenberg and the men with him who elaborated it were sober-minded men of affairs, with all their exalted religious ideals and fervid enthusiasm. The General Economy was continued for

nearly twenty years, after the lapse of which it was dissolved. Levering, in "A History of Bethlehem," thus describes it, "The arrangement was not communistic in any sense beyond that in which a number of persons who agree, for a definite or indefinite period, to give their time and labor to an institution or common cause, are furnished subsistence from that source." The system might be characterized as a form of theocracy, determining an economic-social manner of life for a community of persons closely associated for the discharge of certain tasks, that claimed the full time and strength of the covenanting individuals.

During the years of this General Economy system much was accomplished. Through the ministrations of the preachers, teachers, and missionaries, the influence of Bethlehem and Nazareth reached to far places. At one time the Economy supported fifty such that had been sent forth. Yet at no time during that period did the population of these settlements number more than six hundred, most of the time it was considerably less. The results were truly remarkable. People of neglected communitiees felt the thrill of a strong religious life. By 1748, congregations were organized in more than thirty localities in seven of the original thirteen American colonies. In many of these same communities, particularly in Pennsylvania, schools were established that proved to be, with all their limitations in equipment and method, of untold good in those days of beginnings, when whole regions were but sparsely settled by whites who were, very generally, fully occupied in battling with the wilderness. Missionary work among the Indians is one of the brightest parts of the story of the early, as it is of the later, Moravian activity in America. It counted its heroes and martyrs, not a few. It met with heartbreaking disappointments and led to immortal achievements. Of all the missionaries the Moravians sent forth, then and in the years to follow, David Zeisberger was the great hero of the work. He rounded out, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, sixty-three years of un-

wearied labor among the Indians—perhaps, the longest missionary career on record of any church, at any time, among any people. Naturally, he won successes in spite of everything. He came to be known as the "Friend of the Indians." At one time he was the keeper of the archives of the Iroquois Confederacy. For years, he swayed the council of the Delawares. He reduced their language to writing and gave them hymns, liturgies, and portions of Scripture in their own tongue. In the Christian Indian communities he established there were schools for the Indian children. To these schools Wickersham in his classic "History of Education in Pennsylvania" pays this tribute, "Even Carlisle and Hampton, with all their merit, have less to recommend them as schools for the Indians than had the old Moravian towns of Gnadenhuetten, Friedenhuetten and Friedensstadt."

In another way the history of this community has demomstrated something of the nature of Christianity and the manner of its propagation. Spiritual and cultural life in the community, during the Economy years, was diligently cultivated. Regular, though brief, periods of daily devotion emphasized the idea of complete consecration, of labor as well as of life. Nor was the daily life one of grim drudgery, unrelieved by anything bright or softening, as might have been expected in a frontier community. Occasions of unusual interest in the development of the work were made seasons of festal rejoicing and celebration. Lovefeast services, after the manner of the agapae of the early Christian Church, added to the solemn services of fellowship an element of social cheer. Special attention was paid to music. Vocal and instrumental performances of a high order contributed to the edifying beauty of many a service as well as to the general refinement that ruled in the settlement.

All this profoundly impressed the visitors who came to Nazareth. And the "History of Nazareth" informs us, "From the year of its inception, Nazareth had its full share of visitors for, in many respects, the community was

a model on constant exhibition." We are further advised, on the same authority, that, by the close of 1798, Nazareth had so many visitors that it became necessary to appoint several persons as guides "whose duties were not so much to show the material progress of the village as to explain the real objectives of the settlement." These visitors, many of them persons of high station, remarked on the order and general air of prosperity of the place, the superiority of the schools, the high quality of the musical performances, the flourishing industries and their fine products, the size and substantial structure of the buildings, and other distinguishing features of the town and its life. They did not fail to refer to its positive Christian character. Some indicated that they "came to find a people who live according to the Bible." Similar impressions must have been made on the numbers of refugees from near and far in the distressing times of the French and Indian War and in other troubled days.

Now the Gospel can never cease to be a social gospel. But, as here so well illustrated at that time, the "horizontal social Gospel from man to man" must never become a substitute for the individual soul's upward relations with God as the source of inspiration and power. There is always the danger of having a passion for social reconstruction and leaving life, for want of cultivation of the individual spiritual experience, thin and devoid of creative and dynamic influence.

All this testifies, too, that the great moments in the history of a people or a community are the occasions when the entire group is unified, fused, and swept forward by some great loyalty to an ideal purpose. Other assets, such as the economic status, the period, and the geographical situation will always need to be considered, but the functioning of faith, of vision, of loyalty can and often does produce effects little short of the miraculous.

As the history of the community illustrates, in some respects, the nature of Christianity and the methods of its propagation, so it affords, too, instructive exemplification

of the nature of the church and the manner of the performance of its tasks.

Christians have always regarded it as important to declare their belief in the church. All the great creeds of Christendom include the Christian church as one of the integral features of the Christian religion. Our Lord was its founder. He indicated that its essential nature consisted in the relationship believers sustain to each other in virtue of the relationship each believer sustains to the Lord, a relationship made somewhat tangible to us in the sacraments He instituted. Now, from the very beginning the Church in history has a paradoxical character, difficult often to understand.

On the one hand, claims are set up for it as possessing the characteristics of a supernatural society. The New Testament is full of the glory of the church. From the day of Pentecost onward the church is always in our sight. St. Paul almost bankrupts the language in the effort to make clear to men's minds the significance of the church. He speaks of it as a family. At another time, he declares it to be the household of faith. He calls it a temple, the very shrine of the eternal. He characterizes it as the pillar and the ground of the truth, that by which the truth is supported and made to rule in the world. He describes it as the body of Christ and elaborates that conception. He personifies it as a bride, the bride of God's only Son.

On the other hand, it is the body of very frail, faulty, fallible men striving to attain an unrealizable ideal. It has in its history its ups and downs, its advances and lapses, its declines and recoveries. It has the imperfections inevitable in institutions that include men. The church must build itself of men, there is no other material at hand. It opens its doors to all sorts and conditions of men. They come in with their limitations and prejudices, their stunted affections and narrow sympathies, their passions and inherited weaknesses. That is reflected in the pages of the narrative that covers the story of two hundred years of this community. For it records faithfully

that even in what looks to us like the heroic days of the settlement there were weak, unsteady, or disgruntled individuals who had to be admonished. It appears, also, in regulations that, at one time, were adopted and, at a later time, were modified or even abandoned. And it is shown, too, in enterprises and efforts here undertaken that failed of their objectives.

Happily, there is illustration, here, also, of those developments in history that show forth the real glory of the church, despite human fraility and incapacity. The church here established has shown, from time to time, after periods of outward and inward decline a remarkable power of recovery like to the times of self-renewal and revival of the body of believers through the ages and in various regions.

So, too, the repeated references in the history of the place to "the beautiful harmony of interdenominational relations," so evident particularly in cooperation with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, are illustrative of that fellowship of believers that has ever challenged the spirits of men and proven to be one of the chief glories of the Christian church. Similar expressions of Christian fellowship in many other communities, regions and enterprises of our country, with maintenance, at the same time, of the integrity and independent operation of individual denominations, prompted the author of "A History of American Christianity," Leonard Woolsey Bacon, to remark that we should strive for "a communion of saints and not a corporation of saints."

Moreover, there are passages in the recorded history of this community that recall a remarkable phrase embedded in that collection of spiritual wisdom and everyday common sense we know as the Book of Proverbs. It declares that "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord." Probably, that saying circulated from man to man in common speech before it was fitted like a gem in that ancient book. It seems to suggest something more than the testimony of a single soul by itself. It bears rather the marks of com-

munal experience. It implies that there is something in man's spiritual nature, which he shares with all his fellows and causes him with them to be sensitive to the presence of the Most High, that can be kindled into flame by the Spirit of God and make it a revealing-place of God.

Above all, the now full-rounded tale of two hundred years has demonstrated, even as it has been shown in other times and at other places, that the chief glory of the church is its possession in the Gospel of the Word which is needed to redeem mankind from its present errors and present direction. Here, too, that Word of the Lord, spoken by prophets, has become "an actual factor in history, shaping it in the direction of the divine purpose." By proclamation of the Gospel the church itself lives and, in so far as it speaks that Word with understanding and conviction, mediates the power of God to the world of men.

INTERIOR OF THE BETHLEHEM MORAVIAN CHURCH. Probable appearance of the east end when first completed. Drawing by Frank J. Dalkner, based upon Kleckner's photograph of 1866, the Wm. L. Brown drawing of 1842 and Elizabeth L. Myers' copy of a drawing made from memory by Rufus Grider.

AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY
of the
MORAVIAN CHURCH
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

By Garth A. Howland
Professor of Fine Arts, Lehigh University

The first enclosed space in Bethlehem where the Moravians could gather for a religious service was the living or common room of the first house. The familiar story of the first Christmas Eve indicates this use when the Count von Zinzendorf led the way from the room where the vigils were being held to the adjoining stable. The room obviously was not intended to be used solely nor primarily for religious purposes and one can imagine the eagerness with which the little group looked forward to a place which could be dedicated wholly to the worship of God.

The second building was to provide such a room—this was the *Saal,* originally on the second floor of the Gemeinhaus.[1] As this room measured only thirty by thirty-two feet and part of this was taken up by a tile stove[2] and the ecclesiastical furniture it was not long before the growing

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[1] The term "Saal," according to early Moravian custom, was commonly used in designating the place of worship. It appears consistently in the *Bethlehem Diary.* In the minutes of the Elders' Conference and those of other groups which later discuss the building of the great church the term *Kirchen-Saal* is frequently encountered, although *Gemein-Saal* is also found.

All references to the Diary and to the minutes of the Elders' Conference are to the translations made by Dr. W. N. Schwarze.

[2] Kenneth G. Hamilton: *Church Street in Old Bethlehem,* a pamphlet, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1942, p. 12.

congregation felt cramped for space.[3] Within nine years therefore a stone saal (known today as "The Old Chapel") was constructed. As the previous one was not entirely abandoned, it came to be called "Der Kleine Saal" in distinction from the new "Grosser Saal." A few years later the Gemeinhaus chapel was cut in half by making two living rooms of the southern portion, leaving a long narrow room across the north. This in turn became known as "Das Sälchen," according to Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz and was used for private devotions, betrothals, etc.[4] In time this room was similarly divided into smaller rooms for living purposes.

Although visitors from the outside world referred to the new stone saal as "their great church"[5] the members of the congregation still thought of it as the Gemeinhaus Chapel. It served the same functions and the chief entrance was through the same hallway in the Gemeinhaus by which one had approached the former meeting place on the second floor. This entrance to the main floor of the new saal was used by the men and boys of the congregation, while the women and girls used two doorways near the north end of the east wall, where the saal abutted the Bell House extension, one door on each floor. These arrangements were adapted to the seating scheme, for the Sisters occupied the northern end of the long benches which extended the length of the room and the Brethren

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[3] Joseph Mortimer Levering: *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, Times Publishing Company, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1903, p. 255.

[4] Edmund de Schweinitz: "The Chapel and Its Contiguous Buildings on Church Street," in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. I, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, 1869, p. 125.

[5] Thomas Anburey: *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* 1777-1781, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1923, Vol. II, p. 297.

The Marquis de Chastellux in his *Travels in North America in the Years 1780-82*, New York, 1827, p. 351, also refers to *The Old Chapel* as "their church," but without descriptive adjective.

the southern portion.[6] There was originally another entrance reached by means of a narrow stairway which Levering says[7] lead to the Saal from the ground floor, where there was a dining-hall. Who would have used this stairway is not stated.

"Der Grosse Saal" had not been more than completed when increasing need was felt for a still greater church, one which would house the entire surrounding Moravian community on any important festival occasion.[8] There was intermittent discussion of the subject and some spasmodic collection of funds, but nothing definite was accomplished toward erecting a larger building until the time of Bishop Ettwein, whose vision and determination brought the matter continuously to the front. He attended the General Synod of 1789 at Herrnhut, where he succeeded in obtaining official sanction for his project. The response of the Bethlehem authorities was slower, however, and a decision to build was not reached until after the death of the disappointed bishop.[9]

Just how early plans for the church were first drawn up is not clear. Levering says that Bishop Ettwein carried plans with him to Herrnhut in 1789, and remarks that these were discussed but there is no implication that the

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[6] The doorways from the first and second floors of the Bell House extension disappeared in 1865 when the present north end of the "old chapel" was added. This addition considerably altered the original aspect of the room, there was now a north entrance and vestibule with an organ loft above it. The south end was also modified by removing the small choir gallery which had been there and installing the present apse.

[7] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 572 note.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

[9] The Bethlehem Diary under the date of August 30, 1802, reports a meeting of the newly constituted Board of Supervisors, in the presence of the Elders' Conference, "where it was decided by unanimous vote to build a new church." And September 1, 1802, "the new General Council held its first regular meeting and decided unanimously on the building of a new church." (In each instance the word *Kirchen-Saal* is used).

Synod in sanctioning a church for Bethlehem endorsed any particular set of plans.[10] The first mention of a definite plan in any of the records occurs in the minutes of the Elders' Conference:

> October 6, 1802: There was discussion of the draft of the projected church building (Kirchen-Saal) and it was decided unanimously that it should be ninety feet long and sixty feet wide in the clear.

This does not necessarily mean that this was the first time a plan for the church was presented. There are in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem several plans, undated but drawn on water-marked paper of the period, any or all of which may have been considered.

Who drew the finally accepted plans is also somewhat obscure. It has been generally conceded that the architect was John Cunius of Reading,[11] Rau speaks of him as "the architect, John Cunius, venerable as to years."[12] Levering says that "Cunius was the architect and superintendent of construction."[13] But even if Cunius were the "architect," certain portions of the building were designed by others and as the work progressed many changes from the original scheme were made at the request of the building committee and others. William Boehler, Jr. was the master carpenter but he is nowhere credited with any original contribution. There is more question as to the work of Johann Friedrich Bourquin, a cabinet-maker. He executed the paneling of the galleries, the carving at the doorways and made the pulpit. Rau also credits Bourquin with the "steeple." But to what extent he followed the design of the architect and

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[10] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 570.

[11] The early tax lists of Hereford Township, Berks County, include "John Cunius, a Joiner." The Reading directory for 1806 lists a John Cunius living on Seventh Street between Walnut and Washington Streets.

[12] Robert Rau: "Notes on the Erection of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, a manuscript read at a meeting of the Historical Society in 1896." Later published in an issue of the *Bethlehem Times.*

[13] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 574.

what, if any, was his own contribution is not explained. In the minutes of the Elders' Conference it is recorded that the outer doors were the design of a Mr. Davis.[14]

Whoever was responsible for the plan, the German churches were in mind, especially the one at Neuwied-am-Rhein. This circumstance leads us to wonder if the Rev. John Gebhard Cunow, who was a very active member of the building committee, may not have had a great deal to do with suggesting to Cunius what the plan should be. Cunow had spent some time in Neuwied and was so familiar with the details of the church there that when the organ for Bethlehem was under discussion he made from memory an elevation drawing of the organ at Neuwied.[15] If he could recall distinctly the details of the

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[14] Minutes of the Elders' Conference: November 28, 1804. It was brought to attention that the pulpit for our new church might be ordered of Brother Bourquin, the same to be built according to a drawing prepared by Brother Benade.

December 5, 1804. The Conference approved also the drawing by Mr. Davis, according to the Doric order, of the outside church doors, only with this modification, that instead of triglyphs it be fluted (ausgeflutet).

Little is known of these men. From the *Lebensläufe* in the Bethlehem Archives we know that Wilhelm Böhler was born in Bethlehem, November 13, 1769, and died November 19, 1823; that he learned the carpenter trade from his father and took over the business after his father's death. From the same source we find that Johann Friedrich Bourquin did not come to Bethlehem until he was thirty-eight years old. He had been born at Gumbinnen, in East Prussia, and had worked in the Brethrens' House at Zeyst, Holland, from his nineteenth year until 1791 as a cabinet-maker, later going to Neusalz in Silesia, where he was similarly engaged. "In 1800 he came to America, coming to Bethlehem, where he remained nearly fifty years till the end of his life. At first he was employed at his trade of cabinet-maker and in the building of the church he was engaged as an artist in wood ornamentation."

Of Mr. Davis no information has been discovered.

[15] Minutes of the Elders' Conference: January 3, 1803. Brother Schropp was asked to undertake the ordering of a new organ with Brother David Tanneberger of Lititz, which he promised to do, for this purpose Brother Cunow will draw a sketch of the organ in use at Neuwied.

organ he could equally well have sketched those features of the Neuwied church with which he was familiar and which he loved from association or perhaps, less sentimentally, preferred as being best adapted to the needs of the Bethlehem congregation.

The minutes of the Elders' Conference reveal that the governing body of the church felt a deep responsibility not merely for seeing that a church was erected but that every feature of that church was designed and constructed in the best possible manner. There was no turning-over of authority to a contractor but the Boards and Committees voted upon every item as it was presented to their attention.

That the Conference was not without its annoyances due to this democratic method of changing the plans to suit the desires of individual groups is revealed by the following entries:

> Minutes of the Elders' Conference: January 15, 1803. The Conference cannot give its approval to the proposition that rooms should be provided for in the new church building (Saal-Bau) where the married Brethren and Sisters could stay before and between meetings, because more harm than good would come of this.
>
> July 27, 1803. In connection with the collection for the contribution toward the new church there has been agitation again, and several Brethren and Sisters declared that they would give less if the bench for the workers [assistant ministers and church leaders] were raised and if the Brethren and Sisters did not obtain rooms in the end-sections in which they could remain before and after meetings.

The power of the various groups and especially the minuteness with which they considered all matters pertaining to the building process is astonishing:

> September 8, 1802: This committee [i. e., the Building Committee] will . . . meet as often as may be necessary in order to draw up proposals on the intended church structure, which are to be examined by the Board of Supervisors and submitted to the Elders' Conference for decision.
>
> September 18, 1802. The report of the first meeting of the Building Committee was read and acted upon item by item. On the proposal that good dry boards (well seasoned) should

be secured as soon as possible the Elders' Conference offered no objections. On the proposal that marble should be used for the window frames no decision arrived at for this time, and it was desired that further inquiry be made as to the cost per square foot.

It is planned that the foundation wall is to be six feet in depth and at the bottom at least six feet in thickness, and that the largest stones are to be set at the bottom of the foundation. If the foundation wall could be laid up about three feet before winter and could then be covered with buckwheat straw, it would be to the great advantage of the building, because the foundation wall could then settle properly.

November 30, 1802. It was also resolved that the panes in the windows of the new church should measure 14 by 18 inches, so that the windows would attain a height of 16 feet and a width of 8 feet. Window glass is to be purchased at the earliest possible moment, so that we may be sure of having it in time.

January 15, 1803. There was some discussion also as to whether the inner as well as the outer arrangements of the new church building should be submitted to the Church Council.

March 16, 1803. Since work on the new church structure will begin as soon as the weather permits, a building inspection board was constituted and is to consist of the Brethren Schropp, Cunow, Benade, and M. Eggert. [*All of these were members of the Building Committee as well.*] Brother George Huber as subaltern.

The Building Committee will, as heretofore, continue in submitting proposals, and Brother Benade, as one of the Building Inspection Board, will attend the meetings.

The Elders' Conference reserves the right to make suggestions and without its approval no changes of importance may be made.

Several reports of the Building Committee were read. The committee gave its consent to the proposal to include eight columns in the belfry, since it cannot be otherwise.

After the meeting of the Elders' Conference and in the presence of all members of the Conference, it was resolved that the portal which was drawn on the elevation (Aufriss) of the church should be omitted, as it is against the building regulation. In place of it two pillars more will be introduced and the large windows (evenly?) distributed. Desire was

FIG. 1.—MORAVIAN CHURCH, BETHLEHEM. The "architect's draft," in the Moravian Historical Society's collection, Nazareth. Certain features—the belfry, arched terrace, corner treatment and ornaments—may have been the architect's intention but never executed.

From negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 2.—WILLIAM VAN VLECK'S COPY OF THE "ARCHITECT'S DRAFT." Shows minor changes—a shortened terrace, gables over the doorways, lamps on upright standards. (Present location of drawing unknown.)

From negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 3.—FRITZ WALTERS' DRAWING OF THE CHURCH. This differs in several respects from the other drawings, especially in the form of the belfry and the absence of a central entrance in the outer wall. (Present location of the drawing unknown.)

Photo courtesy Richmond E. Myers

FIG. 4.—SAMUEL REINKE'S LITHOGRAPH OF CHURCH AFTER CHANGE OF ROOF IN 1816. Reinke shows none of the ornamental detail of the architect's drawing and instead of a terrace has a separate flight of steps at each entrance.

> also expressed that three dormer windows might be introduced to light up the attic.

From such extracts it appears that the final result was the communal expression of congregational preferences rather than the strictly professional work of an architect.

The Bethlehem Diary, less concerned with enumerating such details than with reporting chief events, does not have a positive statement about the plan for the church until this item appears:

> February 11, 1803 . . . the sketch *(Aufriss)* of the church to be erected was shown and received the approval of the council.

This could hardly have been the first occasion that the plan was presented to the Congregational Council—the date is too late to permit such an interpretation. Nor would that body have been likely to accept the first plan submitted in so cursory a manner. As the word *Aufriss* might mean either a plan or a perspective drawing, I take it that a "sketch" of the building as it would appear when completed was presented at this meeting in order that the group might better visualize the finished building than could be done from working drawings of plans and elevations. If this is the correct view of the statement in the February 11 item, then it is probable that the perspective drawing of the church in the Whitefield House at Nazareth is the "sketch" which was approved at this meeting (Fig. 1).

A similar statement, that a sketch of the church was shown, appears in the minutes of the Elders' Conference, but under the date of February 12, 1803. Perhaps the secretary meant that the drawing had been presented the night before, for he says that it was at a meeting of the Church Council and adds, "the building is to be erected as represented in the sketch." Yet it was only a few weeks later that the group decided to change the design of the doorway and, before the church was finished, many variations from the drawing as approved were to appear.

FIG. 5.—PLAN ZU EINEM GEMEIN SAAL. Drawing in the Moravian Archives. The scale of the auditorium, 60 x 90 feet, is that of the Bethlehem Church.

Translation of inscription (in German):—

Plan
for a Gemein Saal (Church)
90′ long,
60′ deep, without the wings which are 25′ square.
The building thereof will not exceed £ 2800.

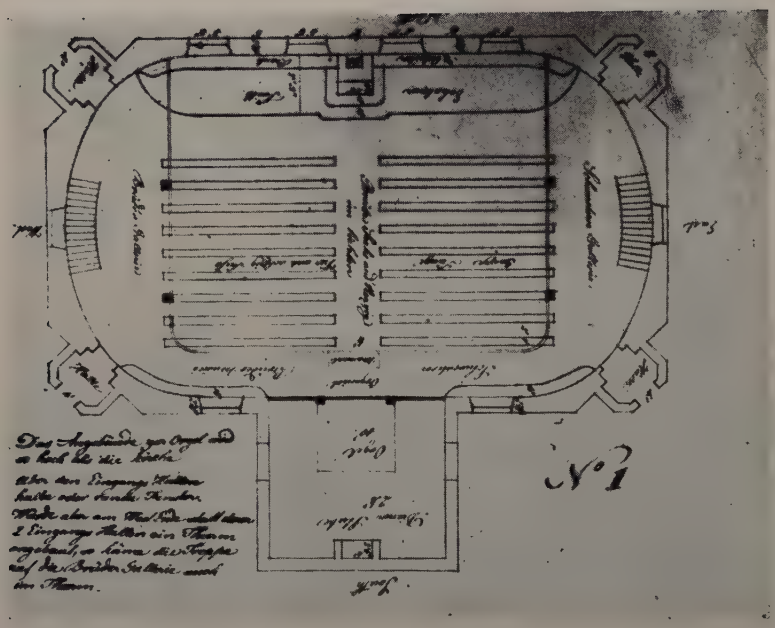

FIG. 6.—"PLAN NO. I," a drawing in the Archives which was probably one of the plans suggested for the Bethlehem church. The seating scheme—with seats running the length of the room—follows the German Moravian custom.

Translation of German inscription:—

The end-section for the organ is to be as high as the church.

Over the entrance-halls (vestibules) half or round windows.

If, however, at the west end in place of the two entrance-halls a tower were built in addition, the stairway to the Brethren's gallery would come within the tower.

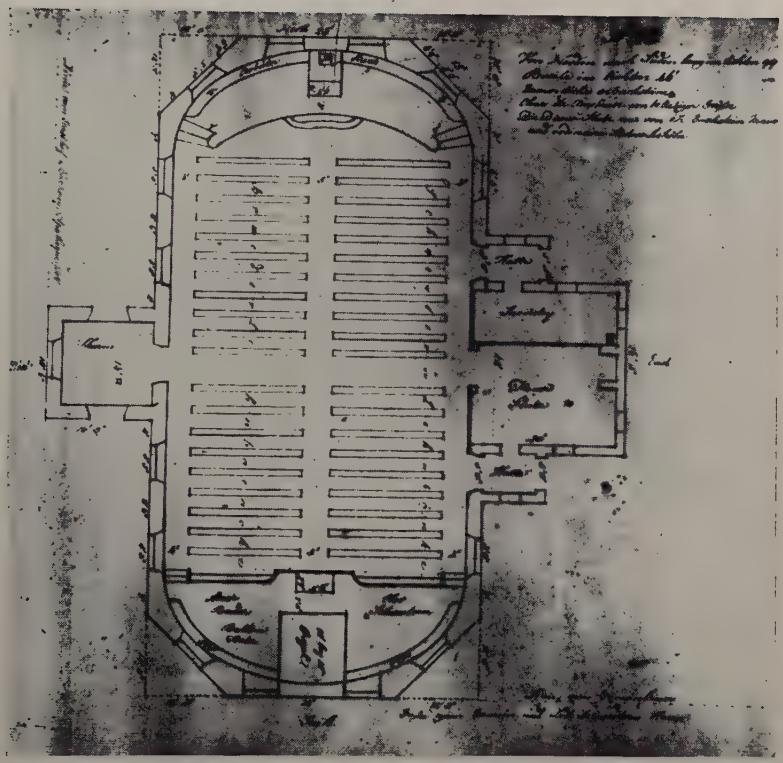

FIG. 7.—"PLAN NO. II," an alternate plan in the Archives. In this the seats extend across the auditorium in the traditional manner. The inscription at left and bottom give the proposed location which is that of the church as built.

Translation of inscription (in German, upper right hand corner):—No. II, Length in the clear from north to south 99′. Breadth in the clear 46′. Wall thickness of three bricks, except the end-sections of optional size. The church-servants room of 1½ bricks thickness of wall and of customary one-story height.

In the Moravian Archives are several drawings which might well be tentative drafts for the Bethlehem church. One of these, labeled "Plan Zu Einem Gemein-Saal" (Fig. 5), perhaps the oldest, has so little resemblance to the accepted plan that it might not have been intended for Bethlehem were it not for the fact that the dimensions given, 90x60 feet, are those of the present auditorium. This is larger than any other Moravian community would have been likely to consider.

A group of two alternative plans (Figs. 6 and 7), marked *No. I* and *No. II* are even less related to the actual church in scheme and dimensions, yet one of them must have been intended for consideration in Bethlehem, for on it the location is indicated. On the south side in plan No. II, a line toward the right is marked, "Linie vom Gemeinhause" and beneath it: "Gasse zum Gemein-und Led. Schwesternhause." And on the side labeled *West* the inscription toward the north reads, "Linie vom Gasthof, Bäckerey, Apotheque &Ca." Where but in Bethlehem could such a location be found? Yet curiously, this plan on which the exact location of the church is given, proposed to have the longest dimension north and south and the seats are arranged crosswise, while in all of the other plans the seats are indicated as running lengthwise in the manner of the Moravian churches in Europe. Both plans, *No. I* and *No. II*, with their rounded corners and generous use of curves suggest a predilection for the baroque not evidenced in the others.

A fourth plan (Fig. 8) approximates the scheme of the actual church more nearly than do any of these, but the dimensions of the main hall are not quite the same, the end sections do not extend out beyond the main line of the auditorium, and there are entrances and stairways on the southern side only. But in the closest of all the plans, a slight pencil drawing, also in the Archives, the scale is practically that of the church as built, there is the same projection of the pavilion ends with a stairway in each corner, and four entrances. (Not illustrated.)

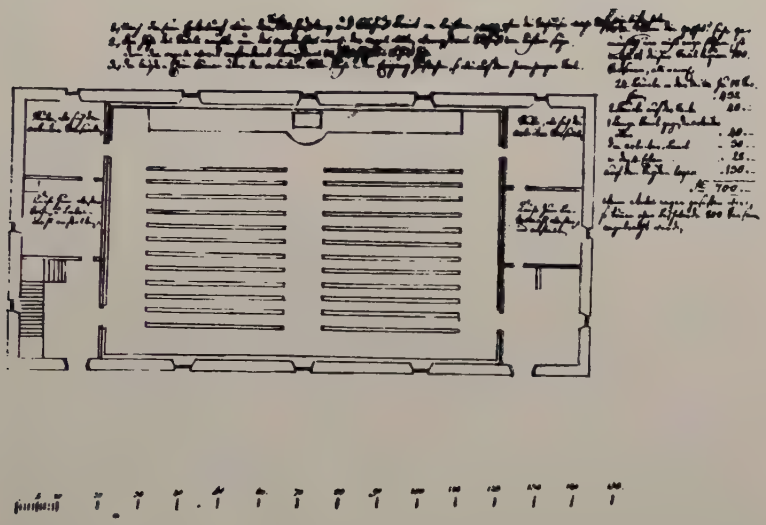

FIG. 8.—PLAN FOR A CHURCH, a drawing in the Archives. This version is very close to the church as built with the exception of the stairways, entrances are indicated on south front only.

Translation of inscription (in German): 1. According to this plan the Saal would be 100′ long and 66′ wide in the clear, without the entrance-halls which are 20′ in the clear.

2. The height of the Saal would have to be 22′ to 24′ in the clear because of the organ-choir, viz., the organ, for the organ structure requires at least 14′ to 16′ in height.

3. The two choir galleries come over the two workers' (ministers') rooms, the kitchens and the entrances, as in the Saal at Herrnhaag.

Nota. If the brethren and sisters sit very comfortably, and not close together, this Saal will hold 700 persons comfortably, viz.,

24 benches in the middle at 18 persons each	432
2 benches on the sides	40
1 long bench over against the workers' bench	40
The workers' bench	30
In the four corners	28
On the two loges	130
Total	700

If the people sit somewhat closer together, 800 persons can be accommodated without difficulty.

In erecting a great church in Bethlehem it was logical that the builders should follow the architectural ideas of the homeland. The character of the preceding Choir Houses had been largely determined by the style of the Moravian communities in Germany. Reliance upon European prototypes was characteristic of all the colonies—one finds churches reminiscent of Wren in English settlements from Boston to Charleston, French types in Quebec and New Orleans, Spanish baroque in the missions of California and the southwest. Such reliance is particularly to be expected of such a community as Bethlehem, where sanction for the building itself and financial aid had to be secured from the home council or synod.

Broadly speaking the style of the Bethlehem church is that of 18th Century European architecture, that is, derivative of the Italian Renaissance. But it is renaissance as seen through German eyes and as influenced by northern factors. Some features of the church as executed suggest a knowledge of English design, especially detail of the Adam Brothers, while the circular belfry with its Tuscan Doric order reveals a kinship with contemporary American interest in the classic revival.

The direct German ancestry of the church, however, is to be found in the Moravian settlements of Saxony and along the Rhine. For comparison, illustrations of the exterior and interior of the church at Neuwied-am-Rhein are given (Figs. 9 and 10). In this as in most of the German Moravian churches the long side is, architecturally, the front; the main section of the church, as at Neuwied, may rise higher than the ends and the tower or belfry be placed over the center. These features are definitely in distinction from the traditional German—and Roman Catholic—practices.

The traditional Catholic church is a long, narrow structure with the main entrance at the end—conventionally this is the west—with one or two towers emphasizing the façade. The Moravian church broke from this traditional type just as its creed and practices were in open contra-

distinction to preceding forms. The Moravian custom of placing the seats lengthwise facing the liturgical center in the middle wall, was obviously a determining factor in the treatment of the flank as the façade. But the symmetrical development which this afforded was quite in accord with renaissance feeling.[16]

The central portion of the church building which housed the auditorium was considered as the essential part of the structure as the very terms (such as "Der Gemein-Saal"), which were applied to it, indicate. The end sections, called *Neben-gebäude* and *Angebäude* in the records, were of less architectural importance as they were of less ecclesiastical significance. It was on these attached end-sections or pavilions that the entrances were placed, creating two doorways of equal importance, one at the far right of the façade and one at the left.[17] The two entrances were most probably determined by the Moravian insistence upon the separation of the sexes. For not only were the men and women seated on opposite sides of the auditorium, but they entered and left by doorways convenient to their respective halves of the room, so that there was no mingling and therefore no exchange of glances which one common entrance or exit would encourage. A long façade with a doorway at either end

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[16] While it is true that, in German churches of the Middle Ages, the main entrance is frequently on the south side, still, architecturally, the west end remained the front. The Germans also obtained a certain amount of east-west symmetry by adding towers at the east end and a hint of central emphasis by a spire at the crossing more or less toward the center of the church. But these features are hardly emphasized sufficiently to have served as the inspiration for the Moravian arrangement—it developed in agreement with the seating plan.

[17] German Moravian practice varied from this. The Herrnhut Church had no end-sections, but two vestibules projected from the front of the main body (somewhat in the manner employed in Figure 5). In several churches the end sections were incorporated under the main roof, but, as at Kleinwelka, it might have two tiers of windows in contrast to the single row of larger ones in the main section. At Berlin there were pedimented end sections but one continuous roof.

Photo in Moravian Archives

FIG. 9.—MORAVIAN CHURCH AT NEUWIED-AM-RHEIN. The long side of the building is the "front" with entrances in the end-sections.

Photo in Moravian Archives

FIG. 10.—MORAVIAN CHURCH AT NEUWIED-AM-RHEIN. The interior shows the German Moravian manner of placing the seats lengthwise facing the Liturgist's table in the center of the long wall and the workers' (Arbeiter) benches on a platform against the paneling.

would call for a central emphasis, and this the tower, placed at the very center of the high roof, would give. In these respects the Bethlehem church follows its European precedents. The naming of "Church Street" might be evidence that the south flank was considered the façade—even if we did not have the early drawings. For a street is named for a building which faces it, not for one whose side abuts it. That we no longer look upon the south flank as the front is due externally to the setting and present approaches and internally to the traditional—i. e. crosswise—arrangement of the seats.

The original appearance of the exterior and setting may best be studied in three drawings, one of these (Fig. 1) is the drawing belonging to the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth, which we believe to be the "sketch" shown at the February meeting of the Church Council in 1803.[18] The other two drawings are known through photographs, one of these (Fig. 2) is inscribed as being "A copy of the architect's draft, drawn by William van Vleck," and on a negative of the third (Fig. 3), in the Bethlehem Archives, is the inscription: "Copy of Fritz Walters' drawing of the Church reduced about ¼ (on soiled paper and poor drawing)." As the photograph is of a wash or pencil drawing, outlined with pen, the inscription suggests that some one made a clearer copy of the original.

The first, as the "architect's draft," was submitted before the church was built and therefore represents the architect's ideas rather than the actual appearance. One must make allowance therefore for certain details which were in the architect's intention, but may never have been executed. Van Vleck copied this some time later, for he

[18] As the drawing at Nazareth was "deposited" with the Moravian Historical Society by Henry T. van Vleck, one feels justified in believing that the original drawing was in the possession of the van Vleck family, perhaps from the time of Jacob van Vleck (1751-1831), and that at some time it was copied by his son, William Henry (1790-1853), who passed the original on to his son, Henry, who in turn entrusted it to the Society.

Fig. 11.—SOUTHWEST VIEW OF BETHLEHEM by BENJAMIN BENADE. A characteristic drawing of the early XIX C. showing the church before the roof was elongated in 1816.

was a mere youngster at the time the church was being built. He employed a wash to give the drawing a more finished look, and attempted to improve the architect's drawing. For instance, the lamps on the fence in the original drawing extend out from the corners on brackets while in the van Vleck drawing they are on upright supports. This and changes in the terrace suggest that he was trying to correct certain features which he knew were wrong or believed were more accurately shown in Walters' drawing. He put gables over the doorways as Walters had done without apparent justification, yet he did not correct the tower, although Walters' version is closer to the belfry as we know it.

Walters' drawing is very careless in its spacing and proportion of the windows, but it attempts to correct a bit of faulty perspective in the cornice and balustrade of the farther wing. The lack of understanding of the "penthouses" atop the ends and his changes in the approach and terrace cause one to believe that Walters made his drawing after the roof had been altered. The most carefully executed section is the belfrey, of which more later.

The pavilion ends are verified by those early views of Bethlehem which include the church, but which were drawn before the changes of 1816. Such views were intended to show the general appearance of the town; they are too inaccurate in details to offer specific help. (Fig. 11 is an example).

There is no absolutely authentic view of the church until 1866, when M. A. Kleckner made the first photograph (Fig. 13). By that time several alterations had occurred. The photograph, therefore, verifies only those features which appear both in the drawings and in the photograph.

Actual construction of the church began on April 16, 1803, with the placing of the "Grundstein," or cornerstone in its original sense, in that it served as the point from which the lines of the foundation of the building were established. The building was sufficiently completed

for dedication in May, 1806. It was built with stone walls coated with stucco or "rough cast," as the earliest records in English term it. There is mention of various woods employed, white oak, white and yellow pine,[19] sandstone for door and window sills.[20]

The great gabled roof, crowned by the Doric belfry, covered only the central section which housed the auditorium with its five great windows on north and south. At each end of this main block and jutting out from it some few feet was a pavilion or end-section. The Nazareth drawing shows quoins at the corners which certainly give a sense of finish to the smooth walls but which do not appear in any of the photographs, nor has reference to them been found in the records. Atop the center of each end-section and above the continuous cornice, so that it seemed to be set on top of the pavilion, was a square box-like affair under a flattish pyramidal roof with a chimney at the apex. The roof of the wings proper was very flat and each of the four sections—one at each corner of the church—was surrounded by an Italian balustrade, presumably in wood. These blocks or "turrets," as Levering calls them, were not of stone, but lightly constructed of wood and plaster, probably to lessen the weight where there were no supporting cross-walls below. Rather clear knowledge of the construction and original detail of the west "turret" may be obtained by climbing

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[19] Rau: *op. cit.*

[20] Minutes of the Elders' Conference: November 20, 1802. In the Building Committee meeting an estimate was made and it was found that the ten window-frames of marble would cost about one thousand dollars, and it is believed that it will be necessary to give up this idea altogether rather than pay so much.

December 3, 1802. The last report of the Building Committee was read, and it was resolved that because window-frames of marble or of sandstone would run to such an unusually high sum of money to give up both and make them of wood, the sills, however, of sandstone. The window-frames may afterwards be varnished and covered with sand, so that they would be more durable and would resemble sandstone.

Photo by J. C. Tobias, 1945

FIG. 12.—ORIGINAL WALL OF WEST TURRET as it appears today under the extended roof. Casement windows; angle of floor indicates the pitch of the pavilion roof.

the stairs to the church attic. The one which stood at the east end was entirely removed with the rebuilding of the roof, but that at the west end was simply enclosed by the extended roof, where it forms a sort of antechamber to the main attic. The original north and south walls are in place and still largely intact. The photograph (Fig. 12) shows the construction beneath the stucco; it is similar to that in Moravian buildings elsewhere, as in the school at Oley in Berks County. In the photograph also the slight pitch of the pavilion roof may be observed.

It will be noted that the windows are of the casement type and that the one which gave access to the flat roof was virtually a door with wooden panels in the lower half. As these side windows were concealed by the extended roof, they were never altered, but at some time, most probably in 1867, all other windows in the church

Photo by M. A. Kleckner, 1866

FIG. 13.—FIRST PHOTOGRAPH OF THE BETHLEHEM CHURCH. (cf. with Fig. 4.)

were remodeled from the casement to the sash type. Scars on many of the frames reveal clearly the former presence of hinges and latches. The design of the present windows makes it evident that those in the end-portions were in four sections and the 1866 photograph (Fig 13) shows that the large windows of the auditorium were at that time in six. In other words, the smaller windows originally contained two tiers of casements and the large windows three. In the east gable, however, the windows do not conform to this early pattern (cf. Fig. 14), but are of the regular American sash type—it would appear, therefore, that when the end wall was built up, after complete removal of the eastern turret, sash windows of the kind in common use were installed. It was then, too, that the false lunettes or fan-windows filling in the space in the peaks of the gables were added. I suggest that the

From negative (1880 ?) in Moravian Archives
FIG. 14.—BETHLEHEM CHURCH. From NE.

east end of the church was remodeled first and it was then discovered that there was no need of removing the turret completely, consequently at the western end a more simple adjustment was made. The year for the remodeling of the windows is not definitely determined; 1816 appears very early, especially when we read in the minutes that casement windows had been insisted upon:

> November 10, 1802. Windows in the end-building sections, as for the main section of the church, are to be made in the European fashion, winged with opening frames. (Auch sollen die Fenster an den Nebengebäuden so wie am Saale selbst, auf europäische Art gemacht werden, nemlich mit Flügeln).
>
> December 10, 1803. At the meeting of the Building Inspection Committee Brother William Boehler declared himself ready to make the windows for the end-building sections, if they would be done according to the customary style here to slide in grooves, because he does not have the tools for the

> German style windows. The Conference, however, was in favor of abiding by the decision already made, viz., that the windows both in the church auditorium and those in the end sections be made in the German manner, particularly, as it would be discordant if the windows in the end sections were made in the manner customary here; also there would be difficulties because of the measurement of the panes, since the frames are already arranged according to the German style.

As the large windows of the auditorium were still in six sections in 1866, while later photographs show them to be of the sash type, it is more reasonable to suppose that the change from casement to sash was made during the general remodeling of 1867, rather than that the windows have been altered twice.

In addition to two windows on each of the three exposed sides of the turrets, as the drawings indicate, there were two rows of six windows each across the wide ends of the pavilions and two on each of the narrow north and south sides, except that on the first floor, in each case, there was a door and a window. Above each window in the Nazareth drawing, and copied by van Vleck, is an ornament breaking up the emptiness of the wall, very much in the Italian manner. As well as one can judge these are intended to represent framed garlands. Above the windows in the turret are pictured oval medallions. None of all this appears in the first photograph and there are no indications of such details in the slight space left above the windows under the attic roof. If such ornaments existed, other than in the architect's hope, they were more likely of wood or stucco than of stone. This may well be true also of the quoins. Carved wood formed a definite part of the church decoration, but there is only one indication of stone work—the use of sandstone for the door and window sills.

One had wondered why the strict Doric order had been employed on the belfry but nowhere else, until Dr. Schwarze discovered in the Minutes of the Elders' Conference that the original design for the four entrance doors was made by a "Mr. Davis according to the Doric

Photo by Tobias, 1945
FIG. 15.—SW ENTRANCE DOORWAY. One of the four main doors designed by "Mr. Davis."

order."[21] The committee for some reason did not approve of this and fluting was substituted. The doors are beautifully and delicately designed, an instance of the Adam influence (Fig. 15). This statement in the minutes lends further assurance that the present doors are the original

[21] cf. footnote 14.

ones depicted in the Nazareth drawing and that there never were gables or pediments over them.

The belfry is undoubtedly the most striking feature in any view of the church, especially from a distance and figures conspicuously in the old prints of Bethlehem. The drawings do not agree in certain details and this has lead to the belief that the belfry was altered. The architect's drawing at Nazareth and van Vleck's drawing, which is based upon it, differ in at least two essential points from Fritz Walters' drawing and from all photographs. It is very probable that the architect represented his intention and that changes were made in the belfry design before it was constructed. For some reason van Vleck, working several years later, copied the intended design, instead of correcting it to correspond with the belfry as it actually was. This is peculiar for van Vleck made other corrections as we have seen. It has been suggested that Fritz Walters redesigned the tower and that it was built according to his ideas. But there is no reference to Walters in Levering's History, nor have I found any mention of him or his work in any of the records.

The differences are these—in the Nazareth drawing the belfry proper rests upon a low base whose upper surface is level with the roof ridge.[22] This is surmounted by a balustrade similar to that on the pavilion ends except that urns are placed on the pedestals at the four corners. In actuality, as in Walters' drawing, there is another section superimposed upon the lower base. There are two small shuttered windows on each face. Walters' drawing shows windows on the side only and his treatment of the balustrade is unlike either the one in the architect's drawing or the one of today. It consists of crisscrossed lines only. But as a balustrade of this exact type appears in

[22] This peculiarity also appears in a lithograph, undated but inscribed "S. Reinke, del. Lith. Endicott, N. Y.," a photograph of which is in the possession of Richmond E. Myers. The lithograph otherwise agrees more nearly with the Walters' drawing than with the others. (Fig. 4).

Photo by Tobias, 1940

FIG. 16.—BELFRY. The Roman Doric columns and entablature reflect contemporary interest in the Classic Revival, the balustrade, similar to the one on the Bell House, shows the earlier influence of Chippendale.

Grunewald's lithograph of 1833[23] it may have existed until it was replaced by the present one which was copied from the Chippendale design on the Bell House belfry.

Upon the platform is a tall octagonal podium with doors under the decorative arches on four sides which alternate with clock faces on the other sides. Above this is a circle of eight Tuscan Doric columns. In the Nazareth drawing,

[23] Reproduced in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. XIII, p. 224.

which van Vleck follows, the entablature above the capitals consists of a series of simple bands and mouldings, but in Walters' drawing a Doric frieze is suggested. Today we find a carefully executed Doric entablature with the soffit of the circular rim bearing mutules and guttae in the classic manner (Fig. 16). The dome is slightly more elliptical in the Nazareth drawing than in actuality and the columns give the impression of being of greater height. The slender spire is very attenuated in the architect's scheme and the ball (which looms so prominently in actuality) is a mere spherical swelling.

The records contain no mention of any changes in the belfry other than the slight shortening of the spire during some repairs in 1838[24] and the strengthening of the

[24] Protocoll des Aufseher Collegii in Bethlehem: May 10, 1838. A committee was appointed to examine the church building (Kirchengebäude) and report to the Collegium on its condition.

May 21, 1838. The committee recommended the following:
(a) To have the screws and the fastening-pins, and the bands around the spar (or rafter) heads up on the king-posts drawn tight.
(b) To mend several places in the roof which admit water.
(c) To make secure by means of bands the post on the south-west corner in the lower story of the tower, which post has been almost split through by several considerable cracks.
(d) To make water-tight and nail up the shutters, in the gallery around the tower, which do not lock exactly and let in much water, except the one shutter that is used.
(e) Of the urns which stand as decoration at the corners of the tower structure the one on the north-east corner requires repair.
(f) The same is true of the floor in both stories of the tower structure, in that the covering prepared of tar calphonium [pine-tree rosin] and sand has been washed away from the channeled joints of the boards.
(g) To repair the dial plates of the tower-clock.
(h) To repair thoroughly the capitals of a number of the wooden pillars which have split and allow the rain-water to gather about the footings of the same.
(i) The committee, also, noted that the tapering point of the cupola all around the passage for the rod of the weather-vane is not water-tight.

June 18, 1838. Bro. Brickenstein reported . . . that it might be necessary to cover the whole cupola with copper . . . it was reported that the weather-vane was crooked, and it is necessary that it should

supports by additional timbers. [25]

All of the drawings show a dental range at the cornice instead of the simpler treatment in the photographs. Another feature of the drawings which raises a question is the position of the chimneys at the apex of the "turret" roofs. The chimneys at present rise against the outer wall so that they appear externally at the peak of the gables. If the chimney at the west end had risen straight upward through the church from the basement it would have passed nearly through the center of the organ loft—this would seem to have crowded the organ very far forward —it certainly could not have ascended through the organ. One would believe that the chimneys as pictured were solely in the architect's mind were it not that they also appear at the apex of each turret roof in the prints of early Bethlehem.

The approach to the church, in the intention of the architect (Fig. 1), was through a gateway in the center

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be straightened. . . .

June 25, 1838. The committee, which had been appointed to effect the necessary repairs on the cupola-roof of the church, reported that they had examined the same carefully and had found it in very poor state of repair and had, therefore, made arrangements to have it covered with copper; further, that they had found it advisable to shorten the rod of the weather-vane and to lower somewhat not only the weather-vane but, also, the ball. The committee further, proposed to have a special bell-framing built, since the ringing (as the bell is hung at present) strains the tower (belfry) more than the severest storm.

July 9, 1838. The committee, to which effecting the repairs on the church-tower, etc., had been committed, gave notice that they had found themselves obliged to have a new weather-vane made, as it appeared that it would be more difficult to make the old vane lighter than to make a new one.

[Recent measurements give the height from the roof-ridge to the top of the dome as 46 feet 2 inches and 78 feet 6 inches to the tip of the spire, or 143 feet 8 inches to the tip from the base line].

[25] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 30. This occurred the same year, 1838. Dr. Schwarze reports that August W. Schmich, a trustee, repaired the bases of the columns about 1910 and found that inside each of the hollow wooden columns was a pentagonal timber core.

of a stone wall surmounted by an iron fence which ran along the south side of the church. This gateway was exactly in line with the short axis of the church and led to a flight of steps which ascended to a terrace the length of the building.

In Walters' drawing there is no gateway in the outer stone wall, the only approach to the steps at the center of the terrace is from the east end. But the terrace is similarly supported by arches although it reaches only to the doorways. If this approach had been altered and the terrace with its emphasis upon the central axis removed, one would think that there would be some record of it. But as it is nowhere mentioned, we doubt if it were ever executed.

In the lithograph by Samuel Reinke (Fig. 4) there is no terrace or row of arches, but instead merely a stairway leading to the southwest door—it curves upward from the west to the south side of a small platform before the door. There is also shown a low outer wall with an entrance in the center of the south side and presumably one at the east end. While this lithograph shows some inaccuracies in the depiction of the neighboring buildings as we know them to have been, still one is inclined to believe that Reinke more nearly reflects the wall about the church and the means of approach to the building than does the "architect's draft" or Walters' version. The belief that there never was a terrace is strengthened by a series of statements regarding some repairs to the outer wall and walk in the *Protocoll des Aufseher Collegii in Bethlehem*:

> August 26, 1833: Because the walk along the south side of the church looks very bad in that the plastering of the walls has quite fallen off and the wooden railing is in bad condition, the Collegium . . . empowered a number of Brethren who will examine it and report their ideas.
>
> March 30, 1835: [Apparently this first committee did nothing effective, for nearly two years later a second committee is appointed.] Since the railing along the southern churchwalk (Kirchengang) is very poor and the plastering on the

wall on that side has fallen off . . . this committee, at the same time, might find out whether a serviceable change might not be made at the northwest exit from the church, since, as it is now, it takes a long time for the Brethren and Sisters to get down the steps, especially, as almost all the Brethren and Sisters leave by that exit.

April 27, 1835: [One month later the second committee reports] that in its opinion the whole wall there should be taken down and then steps of red sandstone be built from the southwest corner, close to the church wall, up to the church door; the walls then to be erected will need to reach only as far as the western end section. Instead of the present exit through the outer wall, an exit be made exactly opposite the one on the north side. The iron stair railing may then be used for the new steps; up on the wall a wooden railing might be made, for which perhaps the present posts and railing could still be used. Should enough sandstone be left over, steps could also be made on the east side of this wall. The old bricks could be used to make a better walk along the west side of the church to the cemetery (Kirchenhof). The exit through the outer wall on the north side, the committee thought, would for the time being be left as it is.

The Collegium accepted this report and held it advisable to appoint Wm. Travel for this, if he can do it in time, at the latest by September first.

There is nothing in any of these statements to indicate that there was or had been a terrace supported on masonry arches along the south side of the church, but the intimation is rather that the church doors at the northwest and southwest corners were reached directly by steps. This is further indicated by the proposal of William Travel that

the steps on the south side of the church . . . be made of brick and in order to be more durable . . . to build a pair of arches, he thought this would be cheaper and more durable than to wall it up of rough stones and, at the same time, would look better.[26]

There is further comment on June 15, July 13, and November 27, 1835.

In the records of the Board of Trustees for 1857 there is again discussion of repairs to the outer wall and steps, but here, too, the

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[26] *The Proctocoll des Aufseher Collegii in Bethlehem;* May 11, 1835.

account is too meagre to afford an accurate picture. It may be that the great flight of steps at each of the western corners was made then. Steps similar to the ones of today appear in the Kleckner photograph of 1866. Levering does not discuss the point, but simply states that in June, 1857, "the stone wall was removed to be replaced by the present [1903] iron fence." This adds to the confusion, unless it means that the stone wall was replaced by *the present brick wall topped by an iron fence.*

(Note Mr. Borhek's "Resolution" of 1855, quoted later.)

The chief point in this discussion is that if the church was not approached by a flight of steps at the center of the south side, then the effect of a long, horizontal façade in the German Moravian manner would have been largely lost. Consequently, the early congregation would have had little feeling for the south flank as the front, but would think of the church as the usual long narrow edifice. We can, in such a case, understand why there was so little opposition to the remodeling of the roof in 1816—a remodeling which transformed the European Moravian type into the more traditional form.

The lengthening of the gable roof to the ends of the building necessitated the removal of the "turrets." This destroyed almost completely the impression of pavilion ends. The adjustment of the gable to the wider end-sections was so skillfully managed that one is hardly aware of their projection. In fact few observers are conscious of discord between the angle of the roof and the width of the ends—actually the slope stops some feet short of the eaves, so that there is a slight flattish portion of the roof where the end-sections project beyond the line of the main wall.

There is no record of serious objection to this change which so radically altered the essentially Germanic character of the building; it appears to have been made without discussion. Aside from a mere statement that repairs were needed, the Diary contains this sole item:

> May 27, 1816: After thorough study by the Elders' Conference and the Board of Overseers, as well as by a committee

> appointed by the latter body, of the matter on how the penetration of water through the flat roofs of the end sections of our church building might be prevented, it was resolved to continue the roof of the main building over the end sections. Following this, a beginning was made today in this major repair operation.

Just as the exterior of the church as originally planned conformed closely to its German Prototypes so did the strictly architectural features of the interior. But as the interior orientation of the homeland churches was not followed, the effect differed. For in the German Moravian scheme, unlike the traditional or Catholic arrangement, the ecclesiastical point of interest was not at the far end of a long room but at the center of one side, where the chair of the liturgist and the Communion table were placed.

One contradiction in the arrangement of the German Moravian churches lay in the retention of the choir gallery in its traditional place at the end of the church. At Neuwied-am-Rhein the gallery is located over the first story of an end-section so that the second floor opens into the auditorium (Fig. 10). At Herrnhut the gallery was built into the end of the main room.

It was the evident intention of the men who planned the Bethlehem church to continue the established Moravian features and to arrange the interior in the European manner. So far as the gallery across the end is concerned this was carried out, but before the ecclesiastical furniture or the benches were installed a change in the internal arrangement was made. For neither the pulpit nor the platform for the Communion table was placed against the long wall, but both were set at the eastern end and the movable benches from the first were placed across the hall so that the worshippers faced the end of the church in the older traditional manner. This break from Moravian custom met with such opposition that one wishes more detailed records of the controversy were pre-

served[27]—what arguments were presented to overcome the opposition to this return to papish ideas?

The auditorium—with its remarkable acoustics—was so nobly conceived that neither Victorian decorations nor "modernization" has been able to lessen its dignity. The dimensions, ninety by sixty feet, were apparently in the minds of the building committee from the beginning and the various plans (Figs. 5-8) all adhere more or less to this scale. The room is entirely unobstructed by internal props, the roof being supported by a series of subdivided triangular trusses. These, spaced ten feet apart, extend

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[27] Minutes of the Elders' Conference, October 6, 1802: Concerning the galleries along the sides of the building also whether the seating of the congregation should be arranged along the length of the auditorium, no decision was reached today.

[The matter is not specifically mentioned again and the determination on the part of its advocates to have the long axis carried the day. A week later arrangements are ordered to this effect.]

> October 13, 1802: Concerning the building of the church the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: (1) For the present, no galleries are to be built along the long sides of the auditorium, but such arrangements to be made in the walls, that, if want of seating capacity demands, such galleries can be added. On the other hand, the loge extensions on either side of the choir gallery are to be made as large as possible. (2) A pulpit with a sounding-board shall be fixed above the chair of the liturgist. (3) There are to be seven chandeliers of brass, each with six arms, the same to be ordered in Gnadenberg as soon as possible, as, also, two dozen wall-brackets that will harmonize in design with the chandeliers. (4) The platform where the Arbeiter (men and women engaged in spiritual work) shall sit is to be raised by two steps, and the platform for the liturgist one step higher, so built that it can be readily removed.

[There were still some members who were not satisfied with this departure from Moravian practice and the matter was raised once more.]

> May 7, 1803: There was the proposal that we should inquire through the lot whether the liturgist should be seated at the gable end or along the long side of the church auditorium? The resolution agreed unanimously not to so inquire, but to abide by the resolution already passed.

from wall to wall[28] and carry not only the slate roof but the belfry with its clock and weather-vane.[29] When snow lies on the roof each truss carries a load, including its own weight and that of the roof and attic floor beams, estimated at 31,420 pounds.

The trusses are of heavy oak timbers joined together by mortise and tendon joints and held with wooden pegs and, in special places, (Fig. 17) by straps of forged iron.

Although built before engineers had perfected methods of computing the stresses in the members of a truss or of selecting the proper timbers to resist such stresses, yet the system is not greatly different from trusses erected in more recent times. It is remarkable that the builder from intuition and experience alone should have been able to erect a truss which appears to be so sound and structurally safe.

The structural engineer of today with better means of joining the members but without the plentiful supply of long oak timbers then available, would create a truss of very different appearance and perhaps one more economically assembled but he could make little improvement over the general arrangement.

One is astounded to find the bottom chord of the trusses to be one continuous timber 7x10¾ in cross section and nearly 68 feet in length, for not only does it span the auditorium but it crosses the wall to form the exterior cornice —the extension being a functional part of the truss. Each chord is mortised to support the beams of the attic floor and is tied to the vertical members with a curious iron strap fastened with hand-forged bolts and wedges. The vertical central member was likewise fashioned from a single piece, it measures 6⅜ x 18 inches in section and is 20-odd feet long, it is hewn to a width of 10⅜ inches

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[28] The upper walls are 2 feet 9 inches thick, these rest on three-foot walls in the basement, which in turn stand on a foundation wall six feet thick.

[29] The clock weighs 1531 lbs., and the gilded ball on the spire 403 lbs.

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 17.—TRUSSES IN CHURCH ATTIC. Mortised and pegged construction with metal "slings" to hold the bottom cord to the uprights.

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 18.—SPECIAL TRUSSES FOR CUPOLA—(Sawdust box merely a preventive measure in case of leakage about the belfry).

between joints in order to provide shoulders for intersecting diagonal members.

The transferring of the roof load to the sloping rafters and the roof purlin is much like present day practice except for the location of the purlin in respect to the panel point. The builder overlooked the desirability of locating the purlin and floor beam at the panel point so as to eliminate the bending in the top and bottom chords.

A first glance at the confusion of timbers forming the supporting framework of the belfry (Fig. 18) fails to show that the builder employed four additional trusses paralleling the length of the building, to transfer the great weight to the main trusses which span the auditorium. Some years later it was found necessary to add reinforcing plates and timbers to this framework.

It would be interesting to know how the builders erected the trusses. Did they haul the sixty-eight foot timbers for the bottom chords into position on the walls and thereupon erect the other truss members, or—and this seems to the modern engineer to have been the more likely procedure—did they erect a mass of scaffolding within the auditorium to support the huge bottom chord as free of stress as possible until it had become part of the truss? This information, were it known, would be valuable to the structural engineer, for only with this knowledge could he be certain as to what stresses are in the members and how well the trusses were built.[30]

The floor of the auditorium was not carried upon the cross beams alone, but was supported by three intermediate stone walls the length of the main basement (Figs. 19, 20). These are interrupted by openings for passageways and small window-like apertures introduced probably for purposes of ventilation—the air in such long enclosed areas would become very musty if provision were not made for circulation.

The interior of the church, especially the auditorium, has been so greatly modified that those who attended the consecration services on May eighteenth, 1806, would not recognize it as the same. The warmth of color, the sumptuousness and comfort of today were definitely lacking in the unheated, gray-white, candle-lit room with its hard wooden benches.[31]

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[30] These paragraphs on the roof trusses were written in collaboration with Professor William J. Eney, of the Civil Engineering Department, Lehigh University.

[31] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 33, "In 1831, two stoves were placed into the church to heat the auditorium." That the stoves were in the auditorium is borne out by two entries in the *Protocoll*:

November 4, 1834. (4). The stovepipes which lead over the auditorium *(Saal)* from the church stoves to the chimneys are already very poor, though in use but a few years, hence the question was raised whether it might not be feasible to build two chimneys through the roof above the auditorium? It pleased the Board to refer this matter to the burgomasters and the firemasters and such others as

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 19.—INTERMEDIATE WALLS IN BASEMENT. These help to carry the floor of the auditorium (heat shafts and electric wiring are modern).

Yet the room was impressive, its scale and proportions gave a sense of spaciousness found in no other church in Pennsylvania. Originally it was an unbroken rectangle without the present semi-circular apse. There were double—or two-valve—doors at each end of the cross walls opening into the end sections. Along each side was the splendid range of five great windows. The walls, except for the paneling at the front and a plain low dado at

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they might wish to take into consultation and to leave the carrying out of the matter to them, if they find it can be appropriately done, without first building up the chimneys; otherwise to report back to the Board.

November 24, 1834 (2). Concerning the stove-pipes over the church auditorium *(Gemeinsaal)*, it was reported that for this winter pipes have been secured and that perhaps for the next year effort should be made to secure earthenware pipes.

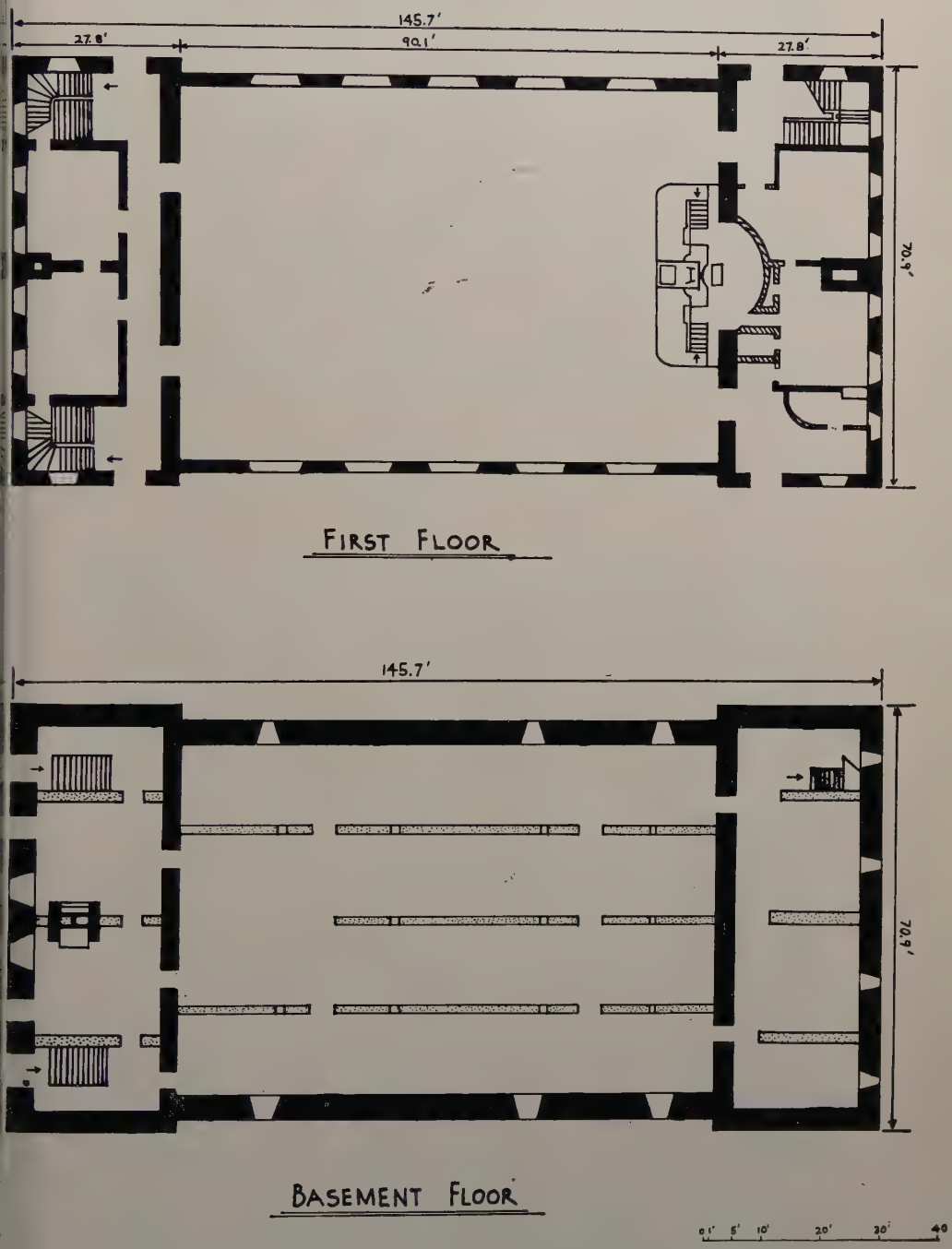
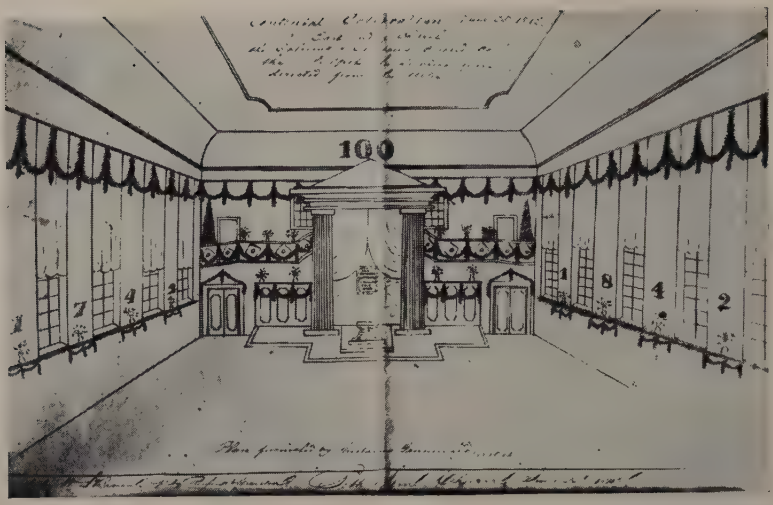


FIG. 20.—PLANS OF MAIN FLOOR AND BASEMENT. The drawings indicate the general arrangements only, are inaccurate in details. (Since the plans were drawn [1945] the south-east entry has been remodelled to provide a conference room.)



From negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 21.—WM. L. BROWN'S DRAWING OF EAST END OF AUDITORIUM. Drawing made to show decorations of 1842. Columns and curtains were temporary and conceal the oriel pulpit, but shows the corner balconies, the windows into "Der Kleine Saal" and paneling behind the platform.

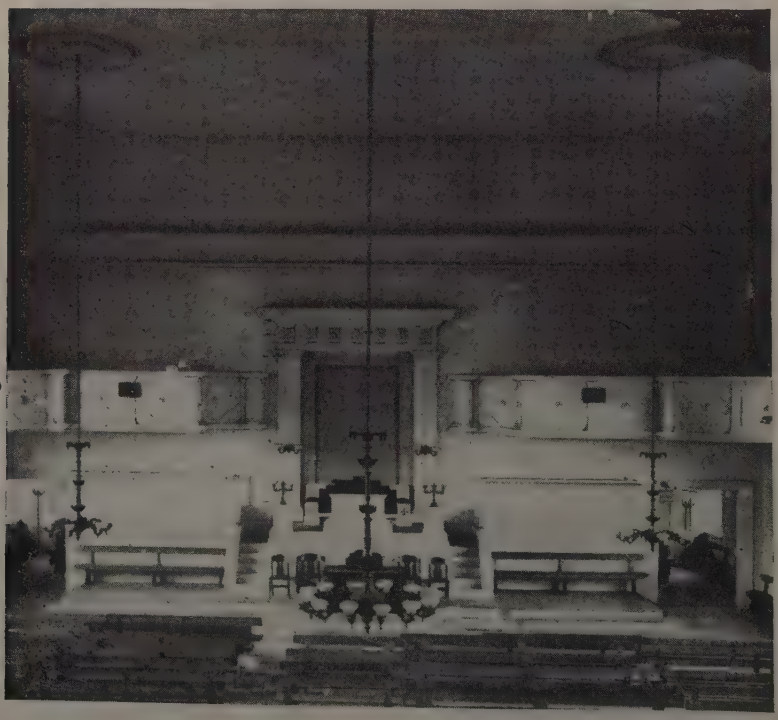
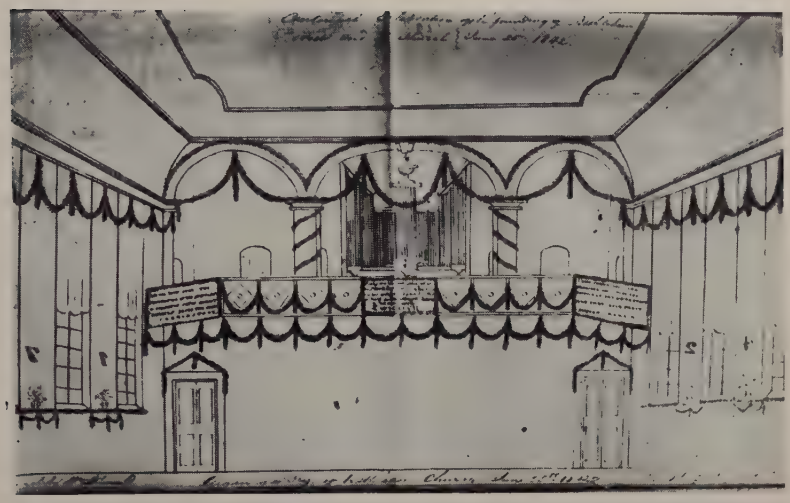


Photo by M. A. Kleckner, 1866

FIG. 23.—EAST END OF AUDITORIUM IN 1866. Pulpit designed by Bishop Wm. van Vleck replaced the original oriel one in 1851. Gas lights were introduced in 1853. (Design of paneling, lost in reproduction, is more clearly shown in frontispiece.)



From negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 22.—BROWN'S DRAWING OF THE WEST END OF THE AUDITORIUM IN 1842.

Photo by M. A. Kleckner, 1866

FIG. 24.—WEST END OF AUDITORIUM IN 1866. Second form of choir gallery as brought forward and supported by three piers. Original stairways may be glimpsed through the open doors.

Photo by Tobias, 1946

FIG. 25.—DOOR IN SACRISTY. One of the original interior doors by Johann Friederich Bourquin.

sides and rear, rose unadorned to a height of thirty-five feet with a cove (omitted over the organ loft) at the upper portion. A plain moulding marked the lower edge of the cove and was echoed in a still simpler band at the upper limit where it merged with the ceiling. The severity of the straight lines was alleviated at the corners by turning the moulding into a quarter circle.

Bourquin's delicate carving on the pulpit and balcony

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 26.—ORIEL PULPIT DESIGNED BY BENJAMIN BENADE. CABINET WORK AND CARVING BY JOHANN FRIEDERICH BOURQUIN. Now in church garret.

and the finely reeded frames of the doorways, still to be seen in the sacristy, indicate a feeling for sensitive architectural detail (Figs. 25, 26).

The exact appearance of the auditorium when first completed is uncertain; photography had not yet been invented and the only known drawings date from 1842 (Figs. 21, 22). These were by one Wm. L. Brown to show the centennial decorations designed by Gustavus Grunewald—we know them through copies made by Rufus S. Grider.[32] Yet a great deal can be learned from these and from the earliest photographs (Figs. 23, 24)—two stereoscope views made by M. A. Kleckner presumably in 1866. The photographs and drawings show us how closely the Bethlehem interior followed the scheme of the Moravian churches in Germany, particularly the one at Neuwied-am-Rhein (Fig. 10). Especially similar is the arrangement of three arches in the gallery with the organ framed by the larger central one. In each church, the gallery is over the first-story of the end-section and extends forward slightly into the room. Doors near the ends of the wall lead to the vestibules with stairways to the organ loft. In Bethlehem the sacristans' rooms are in the center section of this area under the gallery.

It has been held[33] that Brown's drawing does not represent the original form of the gallery but a remodeling of 1821—the thought being that the first gallery did not extend beyond the supporting wall of the end-section. In my view, however, the proposed remodeling of 1821 was not carried out. The artist attempted to represent the gallery as first built—though not as originally planned—

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[32] Mr. Grider also made a drawing of the east end from memory in 1892. This was copied in 1896 by E. A. Rau, whose sketch in turn was copied by Mrs. Elizabeth Lehman Myers in 1925.

[33] Hamilton: *op. cit.*, p. 32. Dr. Hamilton also calls attention to the statement in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees for August 5, 1851, quoted in footnote 43 and well asks what else could be meant by the wording: ". . . to bring the front in a parallel with the most advanced parts of the present front," if earlier alterations had not been made?

for the drawing agrees fairly well with a brief descriptive note made during the building period while the interior arrangements were still under discussion:

> Minutes of the Elders' Conference, January 12, 1803: The Conference gives consent to the proposal of the building committee that the organ gallery be brought forward, but believes it would be better if it were to come forward 6 ft. instead of 5 ft., if it can be sufficiently strengthened, concerning which there is to be a consultation with the architect, Cunius.

From this one would believe that the drawing (Fig. 22) depicts the gallery as built, for the central portion appears to project into the auditorium some few feet; it is quite without pillars, the slight overhang evidently being carried by the extending beam ends of the gallery floor. At the ends, the loft seems to be cut back at an angle to avoid the windows. That the drawing represents the second form of the gallery is based upon a recorded petition[34]

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[34] Minutes of the Church Council, Bethlehem Moravian Congregation, July 27, 1821. (4). Some of our musicians desire a change in the organ-choir gallery, and with this proposition they have turned to the Board of Overseers, which has appointed a committee with instruction to examine again the proposal to change the organ-choir gallery in our church *(Gemein Saal)* in accordance with the plan drawn by Brother Bourquin in company with the local carpenters, and to seek to secure from the latter a specific estimate of the costs. The committee reports that it had sought to carry out the instruction in accordance with its best understanding of the same and that it had not found necessary any further change in the plan except that in place of the one column drawn in the said plan two such are to be placed. Concerning costs, the said committee according to detailed reckoning has estimated these at $300. The plan of the proposed change in the organ-choir gallery in the church consists briefly in the following, to extend the middle part of the organ-choir gallery in a curving form so far into the church auditorium *(Saal)* and to move the organ so far forward that the entire space behind the pillars by means of a wall between the pillars might be shut out and separated from the auditorium. Herein the following advantages are looked for:

(1) The auditorium would gain in appearance, and it would of necessity have a great effect on the excessive sound and more so on the harmful draught which at present comes from the rear windows and the choir gallery stairways, and no doubts are entertained that

to change the gallery by bringing out the central part in a curve and moving the organ forward so that the space behind the columns would be shut off by a wall.

No further mention of the matter has been found in the Council minutes. This in itself is no proof that the change was not made, for seldom are such reports incorporated into the records. But the sketch of 1842 shows no columns as supports for the gallery, it does not "curve" but presents a straight front with the ends receding at an angle, and there is no wall behind the organ which shuts out the end windows.

Although the change was approved by a vote in the Church Council of 17 to 13, yet the matter may have been voted down by some other group for a similar petition appears some thirteen years later in the *Protocoll des Aufseher Collegii in Bethlehem*:

> August 11, 1834 (8). A writing was communicated, signed by the brethren who are usually active in connection with the church music. They wish that, since it is highly necessary that the large organ in the church be tuned and repaired, there might again be consideration of the project of enlarging the choir gallery into the church auditorium; to move the organ forward, and to close the loges. The Board of Overseers agreed to empower the president to appoint a committee of seven brethren who shall consider it, whether it will be suitable and how, according to their opinion, this should be done,

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these evils may perhaps be entirely removed or, at least, that there will be marked improvement.

(2) Our congregation musicians would have the advantage of being more closely together and the effects would be more harmonious, because they could hear one another better.

(3) The organist would gain the hitherto desired advantage of seeing the liturgist more clearly and hearing better when hymn tunes are announced. Hence, the musicians wish very much that the above outlined plan be carried into effect.

After this matter had been thoroughly discussed, the question was put to the vote. Does the Church Council give its consent that the plan proposed by some of the musicians for changing the organ-choir gallery be carried into effect, provided that the necessary sum for meeting the costs be raised completely by free-will subscriptions? There were 17 in favor and 13 against the proposition.

also, to reckon the costs (beyond moving and repair of the organ), and then report to this Board.

October 27, 1834. (7). The committee appointed on the matter of the choir gallery reported that they did not deem it expedient to move either a part or the whole choir gallery forward into the church auditorium, and asked to be discharged. The Board consented thereto.

And so the matter was again avoided. At the same time the current minister, the Reverend Charles F. Seidel, proposed that a new pulpit be substituted for the old oriel one.[35] This, too, failed of acceptance and nothing was done until 1851, when the changes, which appear in Kleckner's photographs of 1866 (Figs. 23, 24), were made.

The drawing of the eastern or pulpit end contains several features which help us to visualize the original appearance. The oriel or suspended pulpit which was in the center of the wall at the balcony level, is hidden in the 1842 drawing by the decorations (Fig. 21). A note on the drawing states: "The Columns and Curtains erected cover the Pulpit—the Services were directed from the Altar." Allowing for this temporary decorative feature of the centennial celebration we have otherwise a fairly reliable picture of the original east end. We observe that the doors from the end section into the auditorium are tight against the corners. Between the doors is a platform of two steps

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[35] *Protocoll des Aufseher Collegii.* October 27, 1834. (6). Brother Seidel had a plan presented for changing the pulpit and wished that the same might be turned over to a committee for further consideration. The Board promised the president to appoint the committee, which is to consist of seven brethren, of whom Brother Seidel, as minister, is to be one.

November 24, 1834. (7). A written report was submitted by the committee which had been named to consider the matter of changing the pulpit. This committee recommended the plan furnished by a friend in New York, but could not yet determine the costs of this pulpit with the necessary changes. The Board was inclined to let this matter go to the Church Council, without first expressing opinion by the Board, yet with the proviso that the costs of the same may not fall as a burden on the congregation diacony or on the borough treasury.

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with the central section extending well forward into the room. The wall behind the platform is paneled to the height of the doors and by comparing this with the Kleckner photograph we find that the paneling was varied in an unusual and interesting manner. (See Frontispiece.)

The original intention had been for paneling on all four sides of the room.[36] This suggests that the first thought was to follow the European precedent as at Neuwied, of having a bench against all the walls for the chief church workers and assistant ministers. (This was usually set on a platform one or two steps above the main floor and backed by a paneled wainscotting.) Several references in the minutes give one this impression.[37]

Above, on a level with the projecting pulpit, were small corner balconies, these were paneled similarly to the choir balcony but curved irregularly across the corner. It has been assumed[38] that these were for the special use of elderly members of the congregation. Two items in the records indicate otherwise; one, made while the building was in process describes how the balconies shall be constructed and adds: "the two loges shall be used only in case of need, but as a general thing are to remain locked."[39] The other is in a list of regulations drawn up after the church was ready for use, it reads: "The gentry

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[36] Minutes of the Elders' Conference. March 9, 1805. The Conference approves for the time being, the Lamberesirung (wainscotting?) in the new *Saal* be dropped on three sides and made only on the side of the workers' *(Arbeiter)* bench.

[37] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1803. A proposal that came up recently in a meeting of the Building Committee was discussed, viz., to make a platform at the sides and in the rear of the new church auditorium at an elevation of two steps, the same as the platform for the ministers. Although most of the members of the Conference were opposed to this proposal, it came to no formal resolution today.

May 1, 1806. The benches at the side shall be placed up to the church doors *(Saalthüren)*. [But they were not set on a platform, cf. Fig. 24].

[38] Levering: *op. cit.*, p. 577.

[39] Minutes of the Elders' Conference. July 19, 1803.

(Die Honeratiores [sic]) among strangers will be conducted to the galleries alongside the pulpit."[40]

The small doors which gave access to the little balconies from the second floor beyond disappeared when the balconies were removed, but scars indicating their size and position are still visible through the plaster on the hall side of the wall.

Half hidden by the temporary decorations in the drawing are two windows. These opened into the room from which the clergymen entered the pulpit. They could not have been intended to give light, even to the pulpit, for they themselves could have received but scant illumination. Their purpose may have been similar to the windows in the Gemeinhaus which, according to a note in the Bethlehem Diary, were cut through a wall into the chapel from one of the rooms occupied by the Count von Zinzendorf in order that visitors might observe such a service as the Communion without interrupting it.[41]

There is a mention of the windows in the building plans reported by the Minutes: "Concerning the windows opening from the small meeting-room into the auditorium, no decision can be reached today as to their height or width."[42] Such windows were not uncommon; in the church at Neuwied there are windows underneath the organ loft looking into the auditorium from the end-section.

The stereoscope views although taken twenty-four years later, after gas-light had been introduced, verify many of the features depicted by Brown's drawing. One gains a clearer idea of the corner balconies; their entrance doors are faintly visible in the shadows and the two windows which were so distinctly drawn by William L. Brown have been removed or at least covered over.

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[40] *Ibid.*, May 3, 1806.

[41] *Transactions*, Vol. XIII, p. 198 and note 11.

[42] Minutes of the Elders' Conference: July 19, 1803.

Their places are marked by rectangular areas slightly lighter in tone than the surrounding walls. (Figs. 23, 24.)

But other and more important changes appear at each end of the room. These changes, made in 1851, incorporate some of the ideas for the choir gallery expressed by the petitioners, thirty years earlier in 1821, and repeated in 1834, when Brother Seidel was agitating for a new pulpit. The alterations as finally achieved were the result of many conferences.[43]

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[43] Beginning in 1851 with the incorporation of the congregation, minutes of the Board of Trustees and of the General Council were kept in English. These are preserved in the business office of the church.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 1, 1851: The Committee on Real Estate was instructed to carry out the resolution of the Congregational Council drafted the 6th of Feb., 1851, relative to the alteration of the choir and the erection of a new pulpit. As regards the choir, they shall have power of adopting a different plan or adopt such alterations as they deem expedient and in good taste, bearing in mind, however, that the alterations made in such a manner that the improvement of the church, music and comfort of those engaged in the same may be promoted by it.

July 31, 1851: In compliance with the instructions given by the board . . . the committees have made an agreement with Messrs. William and Reuben Luckenbach to proceed with the erection of a new pulpit, according to the plan adopted at a meeting of the congregation some months since,—about the alteration of the gallery, they have conferred with a number of musicians and came to the conclusion to make material alterations from the original plan and requested Messrs. Luckenbach to prepare a draft to be submitted to the Board at the next meeting.

August 5, 1851: The Messrs Luckenbach having failed to furnish a draft of the proposed alteration of the organ gallery in the church, the committee submit an outline of the plan. It is proposed to bring the front in a paralel (sic) with the most advanced parts of the present front, lay the floor of the addition ten inches lower than the old one, so as to form two platforms for the singers and afford a better view of the organ from below, than if the floor were perfectly level—to make this extension, joists will be well secured to those now supporting the floor of the gallery, braces will be so arranged in the front as to strengthen the work and be out of sight, no support will be required from below. The Messrs. Luckenbach apprehend no difficulty in carrying this plan into execution. [A motion to proceed with

The new pulpit, designed by Bishop William van Vleck, was bound into a unified design with the Communion table immediately below and in front of it (Fig. 23). The platform was reached by some half dozen steps on either side, the new low paneled portion between the steps serving as a background for the table and liturgist's chair. These were evidently brought forward but remained on a platform of three steps—one step higher than that for the workers' benches which retained their original position between the table and the end doors.

The pulpit was also united with the corner loges and given emphasis at the same time by a tall dark panel which rose behind it to the upper height of the loges. This was framed by pilasters and a Doric entablature with triglyphs which may well have been derived from Mr. Davis' rejected design for the outer doors.

The enlarged gallery (Fig. 24) added more space for the choir in the center and afforded better visibility for worshippers in the sections at either side. The front was brought forward into a straight line, the outer edge just touching the first of the five great windows on either side of the auditorium.[44] This required, in spite of the committee's opinion to the contrary, the use of supporting members—three square pier-like props. The floor of the balcony still remained flat although in two stages—this drop of a step for the lower or projecting portion of the gallery was in conformity with the recommendation men-

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the work, carried].

October 7, 1851: As there seems to be great diversity of opinion in regard to the manner in which the alterations of the choir in the church should be made, it was resolved, "that the committee on Real Estate be requested to view the premises, and take the opinion of the superintending workmen regarding these alterations . . . and with power to act thereon."

[44] It is this feature which makes one question the accuracy of the 1842 drawing, for in it the ends of the gallery appear to be cut back to avoid the windows, yet there seems to be less projection of the central section. The artist was more interested in depicting the decorations than in accuracy of proportions.

tioned in the minutes. In comparing this photograph with one taken after the alterations in 1867 (Fig. 30) it will be noted that the floor space is practically level for only the first row of benches is visible and the western windows are unobstructed by the rising floor of the later remodeling. The little box-like affair in each corner of the loft is conceivably the enclosed stairway. The lower newelpost of the stairway leading to the gallery is just visible through the open doorway at either end of the main floor.

The same beginnings of eastern stairways may be glimpsed through the doors in the photograph of the pulpit end, showing conclusively that in the original scheme there was a stair near each of the four entrances into the end-sections, although only one original stairway remains —that in the northest corner (Fig. 27).

From the plan of the main floor (Fig. 20) it will be seen that the vestibules at the west end of the church are connected by a broad corridor which leads past the two rooms of the sacristans. It seems probable that the two vestry rooms in the east pavilion were similarly separated from the auditorium by a connecting corridor. (With the construction of an apse in the east end of the auditorium in 1867, this space was cut into and only fragments of the long corridor remain).

The western stairways lead to the choir loft and to the section[45] for worshippers at either side. Each of the eastern stairways ascended to another square room, similar in size to the lower vestibules. Here were the doors into the little corner balconies each side of the original oriel pulpit. Between them lay *Der Kleine Saal,* "the little meeting-room," frequently mentioned in the records, a room of some architectural pretentions. It measures about twenty-two by forty feet and would be well lighted by its four large windows, if the solid inside shutters were

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[45] From the beginning the choir was assigned to the central section of the gallery and the ends were for worshippers, cf. Minutes of the Elders' Conference for July 19, 1803, and May 7, 1806.

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 27.—ORIGINAL STAIRWAY IN NE CORNER.

ever opened.[46] The wall treatment is similar to that of *Der Grosse Saal,* i. e. a cove or concave section at the upper portion of the wall with mouldings at the point of springing and at the upper limit of the curve. The place today might be anyone's neglected garret. The present bulge of the apse breaks into the inner wall from the auditorium but the space could still be converted into a dignified room worthy to be the meeting place of an august Board of Trustees. It could also be made into a church museum to protect and display such discarded furniture as the oriel pulpit and other objects which were once used in the service of the church.

Due to the slope of the land there is space at the west end of the basement for a full "ground story," with doors and windows at the west end of the church. Originally the doors were the second interval from the ends and opened into the kitchens (cf. Figs. 13 and 20). A huge chimney between the two rooms provided on one side a fireplace for the making of coffee for the Love Feast Services and on the other side, an oven for the baking of the buns. The kitchens were reached from inside the church by stairways continuing downward from the corner vestibules.

There are no rooms in the strict sense of the word in the east end of the basement. The space there and under the auditorium has been gradually absorbed by an expanding heating system. One shudders to think what a winter's service must have been in the first days of the church and even after the introduction of the stoves in the auditorium in 1831. In 1853, the same year that gas was introduced, one furnace was purchased,[47] but, contrary to

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[46] Similar paneled wooden shutters were on the inside of all windows in the end sections. There were never shutters, apparently, on the large windows of the auditorium.

[47] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 2, 1853: The expediency of introducing gaslight in our church and parsonage was brought before the Board for consideration. After a due consideration of the subject it was resolved that these buildings should be lighted with gas.

the prophecies of the sales-agent, it immediately proved to be inadequate and shortly afterwards another one was

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(A committee was appointed to gather information "in what manner churches are lighted with gas in other places" and report a plan most suitable . . . same committee to investigate heating with a furnace in the basement.)

September 11, 1853: (the committee reported)—that they proceeded to Philadelphia, where, after diligent inquiry, they came to the conclusion that the most effective way of lighting the church will be with five chandeliers suspended from the same places as those at present in use, the central one with twelve burners and the others with six burners each, one stand with two burners on each side of the desk on the pulpit, two brackets with two burners each at the organ, one bracket with two burners each on the two columns in the gallery, and several lights on stands for the singers. For the vestry room and the two rooms on the west side one pendant with two burners each and for the entries one pendant with two burners. (Purchase of fixtures was recommended, the aggregate cost being about $800.00).

Of the heating furnaces which have been examined, Chilton's patent is preferred. Mr. Harrison, the agent of the patent, offers to guarantee that one of the largest size will be ample to warm the church and will cost with pipe, brick and the expense of erection c. $200.00. Messrs. Keisterbock and son proposed to erect two of their furnaces at $100 each exclusive of freight, pipe and expense attending their erection, which will be about $75.00 each, consequently Chilton would be the cheapest in the outset and less expensive on account of attendance and the consumption of coal. The committee therefore recommend the purchase of one of Chilton's furnaces of the largest class.

November 1, 1853: A resolution was presented to have gas-lights on the outside of the church. This was referred to the committee with power to act.

November 19, 1853: It seems doubtful that the furnace lately erected in the church will throw sufficient heat in very cold weather, and the probability is that another furnace will have to be put in. Referred to the committee on heating the church with power to act.

March 6, 1855: As the furnace in the church does not give sufficient heat in very cold weather, it was resolved to put in another furnace during the summer.

August 8, 1855: The Treasurer reported that he had made inquiries about the different kind of furnaces suitable for churches and found that Weaver's and Volkmar's patent seemed to be most popular. Their price for the largest kind is $100.00 and they charge $2.50 wages for the bricklayer who is to put it up, cost about $175.00. The Treasurer was directed to procure one and have it put up.

added. Increasing desire for comfort led to continued improvements in the heating arrangements until at present six furnaces are in force.

The changes, to summarize briefly, which affected the interior appearance of the church up to 1866 were: the removal of the oriel pulpit and the substitution of the one designed by van Vleck shown in Kleckner's photograph (Fig. 23), the enlargement of the choir gallery, and the introduction of gas-lights.

Externally the only significant change, other than the lengthening of the roof, was the addition in 1833 of imitation stone-work about the auditorium windows. Perhaps the advocates of marble frames had never been satisfied with the lack of decoration around the windows, but no recorded explanation has been discovered. This stone-work consists of long and short blocks with arch heads under a slightly protruding ledge (Fig. 13). In the account given by Robert Rau in his paper on the church[48] the blocks are called "stucco" and said to have been cast on the building, one at a time, by William Travel and one assistant.[49] Mr. Frank Leibert, however, has said that his father, who was active on the church at the time, told him that this work had been executed by a group of Italian workmen brought from New York for the purpose.

Improvements in the setting and approaches to the church are difficult if not impossible to determine; we do not know how closely any of the drawings may resemble the original arrangement or what changes, if any, were made. But by 1855 apparently the old wall and steps—whatever the design—had fallen into disrepair, for the minutes of the Board of Trustees for December 24 of that year state:

> Mr. Borhek [this was probably James Theodore Borhek] presented the following Preamble and Resolution:

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[48] Rau; *op. cit.*

[49] Protocoll des Aufseher Collegii for January 21, 1833, simply states that William Travel designed the frames, but says nothing as to who carried out the work.

Whereas: It has always been one of the peculiar features of our Society, to keep our public places and buildings not only in good order of repair, but also of such an appearance, that the eyes of visitors were immediately favorably impressed with their neat appearance as well as substantiality, which fact has given us as a body, a historical title and character of long standing, which character it is to be feared the present dilapidated state of the walls in front of our church, as well as the entrance and steps at the Northwest side, will soon lose for us, and this at a time when we have ample means, if we choose to use them, to perpetuate and bring down unsullied to our children this fair legacy of our fathers, be it therefore *Resolved*: that a committee of three be appointed whose duty it shall be during the coming year of 1856 to examine the state of the walls surrounding our church, to have them plastered and painted, to have the principal entrance at the northwest side of the church thoroughly repaired, take up the stones which form the steps at present and replace them by larger ones, so that each step is formed by one stone, also take away the present iron railing and in its place put one of the modern style of iron railings used at the present day at almost every public building, and make such other improvements as would be connected with this alteration. *Resolved* that the sum of dollars be appropriated for this purpose.

This is followed in the Minutes by further items on the subject:

June 3, 1856: The Preamble and Resolution laid before the Board at a former meeting in regard to the staircase on the northern side of the church and the wall around the Church yard was called up and it was resolved to appoint a committee of five citizens (church members) to take the subject into consideration and report as soon as possible.

January 26, 1857: The Committee on Church steps and walls submitted a report on that subject accompanied by a draft or plan made by Mr. A. Stewart, of New York, and recommend this plan for adoption. The report and plans were adopted and the same committee appointed as the Building Committee with power to carry out the adopted plans.

June 2, 1857: The Board was informed that the lowering of the pavements on the west and south side of the church was in agitation and that a numerously signed petition had been presented to the Town Council on the subject, praying that Body to pass a resolution to have the so-called improvements

done forth with. As this would materially interfere with the plan adopted for the new enclosure around the Church, enlarging the expense to an unknown amount, destroying the shade trees and perhaps endangering the foundations of the church, if so much more from the yard should be dug away as have been intended &C. It was resolved that the Pres't be requested to draw up a remonstrance, setting forth the inconveniences and difficulties created by this alteration and in the name of the Board, present it to the Town Council. [At the next meeting, the President reported he had made such a remonstrance, that the Council had appointed a committee which had not yet reported.]

July 7, 1857: A Resolution was passed to instruct the committee on Church walls and fences to improve the appearance of the embankments on the west and south sides of the church if the pavements remain the form they are at present.

Since no final report was made we are left uninformed as to what was achieved in the way of new steps and walls. If we examine the 1866 photograph for help, we find that the screen of the trees at the front and side of the church allows us merely a view of the southwest steps and a glimpse of an iron fence atop the retaining wall at the west (Fig. 13). It may be that the well-known lithograph of 1877 (Fig. 31) reflects the situation of the time, which allowing for the artist's liberties with actuality, is essentially the scheme in force today—i. e., the familiar brick wall rising in a series of five stepped sections along Church Street, each with its own portion of the Gothic iron fence, with the great stairway at the south-west corner sweeping downward to the street. The brick retaining wall on the south side was torn down in 1936 and that on the west in 1941, both were immediately rebuilt without change, even to the bulge or "bow-window" effect at the center of the west end.

The exterior has not lent itself so readily to minor alterations as has the interior. Eagerness to be in accord with current styles and desire for increased comfort have constantly led to dissatisfaction with existing conditions. The factors which pertain to physical comfort—heat,

light, ventilation, seating—were never satisfactory for long. There were constant alterations or requests for alterations, especially in years preceding the Civil War.[50] The history of the church organs would make an interesting study in itself, but these matters, with the exception of the seating, do not affect the architectural character of the building. The original seating plans, however, determined the interior orientation[51] and the introduction of pews influenced the 1867 remodeling.

The desirability of pews was first brought to the attention of the Congregational Council at a meeting on December 1, 1865:

> The subject of remodeling the large Church was brought to the notice of the meeting and especially the propriety of substituting pews instead of the present loose benches advocated as being more safe in case fire should break out in the immediate neighborhood at a time when the church was crowded and a rush to the doors made, creating a much greater confusion and probable loss of life and limb to women and children, than with fastened seats or pews. After some debate the following Resolution was offered, viz:—"*Resolved,*

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[50] Recommendations of this type may be found in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees:

April 5, 1851: Woodwork of church is reported as in need of painting.

June 21, 1852: A request for new muslin curtains for the church.

June 7, 1853: It is decided to paint not only interior woodwork but the exterior and "rough-cast" as well.

December 6, 1853: Request for a pulpit carpet.

March 21, 1854: The organ "needs fixing."

October 29, 1855: The "roof is in a leaky condition" and the Board decides to "have the church roofed with slate which can be done without removing the old roof and to procure the best quality of slate during the winter."

November 25, 1855: Jedidiah Weiss makes an addition to the town clock "by striking the hours on the organ gallery."

July 1, 1856: The "female Chapel servants" having been requested to wash the curtains report "they think the old ones will not bear washing." This "gave occasion to take into consideration if it would not be expedient to get blinds for the windows." A committee was appointed with power to act.

[51] cf. footnote 27 above.

That this body would recommend to the Board of Trustees to take into consideration the expediency of remodeling the large Church by substituting pews instead of benches, and making other alterations for safety (especially in case of fire) and comfort as may be deemed necessary for that purpose." [52]

Photo by Tobias, 1946

FIG. 28.—NW STAIRWAY OF 1867. It replaced the original stairway, similar to Fig. 27. This ascends to the choir gallery and descends to the exit made in 1867.

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[52] Although pews were introduced among the extensive changes of 1867 there was still to be determined by official action just who should sit where:

June 19, 1868: At a joint meeting of the Board of Elders and the

Although the resolution was adopted no action was taken until more than a year later, when the matter was again presented. Item 5 of the Minutes of the Board of Trustees for January 2, 1867, reads:

> The alteration and remodeling of the Church was taken into consideration, after a lengthy conversation and exchange of opinions on the subject it was on motion *Resolved*: to appoint a committee of three members, the President to be one of the number, to adopt a plan or plans for the purpose of remodeling the interior of the Church, which is to be laid before the Board as soon as the committee is ready to report.

The next item of business was a report of the President that "Bro. Schweinitz [the current minister] wished that a couple of small doors be made at the pulpit, which was granted, and the President was requested to see that these doors should be made." This request is peculiar in view of the preceding motion. Did the pastor intend that the committee should include the doors in the reconstruction plans or did he fear that complete alterations were so distant and uncertain that he preferred an immediate change?

Those interested in the remodeling must not have been as idle during the preceding year as the minutes would

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Board of Trustees, Brother Schweinitz presiding stated—"That the object of the meeting was to come to a conclusion as to the sitting of the congregation in the Church when the same is open for public worship again which will be on the 30th of this month." . . . after mature deliberation it was *Resolved*, That the following order be the standing regulation of seats in the large Church, viz:—

1. The south tier of pews to be occupied by the Young Ladies Seminary.
2. The southern tier of central pews for females exclusively.
3. The northern tier of central pews for males and females sitting prosmiscuously.
4. The northern tier of pews for males only.

   Gallery seats open to elderly and married people only except at such times when the body of the Church is filled.

   In Communion the southern half of the Church to be occupied by females and the northern half by males leaving alternate pews vacant.

indicate, for the committee had its report ready three weeks later, for the January 23 meeting. It was then moved "to proceed with the job as soon as it was laid before the Congregational Council."

This was done five days later:

> Bro. Schweinitz presided (at the meeting of the Congregational Council) . . . at the last meeting of the Board it had been recommended to the Board of Trustees to take the remodeling of the Church into consideration during the present winter which they had done and were ready to lay the plan before the body . . . which plan had been adopted at a joint meeting of the Board of Elders and the Board of Trustees. The President of the Board explained the draft and plan . . . after which it was moved and seconded that the audience room in the Church should be remodeled and renovated, which was carried unanimously. A number of opinions were expressed and especially the alteration of the floor plan so as to make three aisles instead of two—but resisted on the ground of taking away too much room. (Later the original motion was amended, limiting the plan to two aisles).

No specific report on what was done is included in the written records, but photographs taken in the '80's give us a very accurate idea. The final cost of the alterations is reported at the meeting of the Board on December 5, 1868, as $21,808.23.

The most striking change at the east end was the removal of the quaint corner balconies and the cutting of a large semi-circular apse in center of the wall (Fig. 29). This was a radical departure from the old arrangement and tended toward greater conformity with traditional church architecture. In front of the apse a heavy and elaborate pulpit setting was erected (Fig. 34). This was designed in the taste of the days following the Civil War, predominantly Victorian but with concessions to the more classic elements in the earlier architecture of the church. There were panels of several sizes and shapes, some with carved ornamentation, spiral colonettes and paneled pilasters, inverted consoles with rich Baroque carving. The outline of the whole was very irregular with a central

Photo in Moravian Archives

FIG. 29.—EAST END OF AUDITORIUM AFTER REMODELING OF 1867. At this time the apse was cut, doors moved toward center and given flat-arched openings, pews installed.

projecting curved section at the pulpit, pedestal projections toward the end of the platform while the ends curved and tapered at the steps. The addition of pulpit

From negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 30.—WEST END OF THE AUDITORIUM AFTER 1867. The gallery was entirely altered by bringing the end sections for worshipers forward and raising the pitch of the floor, new paneling in accord with the general Victorian style. Doors were moved toward center to align with the aisles created by the introduction of permanent pews.

chairs of the General Grant epoch gave the total effect a final Victorian triumph.[53]

All the doors into the auditorium which had been so close to the side walls were moved toward the center into their present position (cf. Figs. 23, 24 with Figs. 29, 30). Presumably this was done to bring the exits more nearly in line with the two main aisles formed by the arrangement of the new pews. The doorways at the east end were given low flat arches with the soffits and jambs

[53] If the furniture shown in the photograph was introduced at this time.

paneled in keeping with the treatment on the pulpit, but the ones under the gallery were square. Brother de Schweinitz must have won his "two small doors" as certain of the photographs show two doors in the apse (Fig. 34). At some time later one of these was sealed over. The cutting of the large apse eliminated most of the corridor leading to the two vestry rooms (Fig. 20) and broke through the ceiling into the former "Kleiner Saal" or little meeting room on the second floor; this, since 1838, had been used as the Archives. The stairway in the southeast corner was entirely removed and the two in the west end of the church torn out and replaced by broader and heavier ones (cf. Fig. 27 with 28). The balustrade and handrail made of the inevitable black walnut of the period may have impressed the reformers, but they strike us of today as vastly inferior in design and architectural quality to the remaining original staircase in the northeast corner.

At the west end the organ loft was altered with the end portions or "loges" brought so far forward that they reached out beyond the first of the side windows in a sweeping line which required the support of four slender columns (Fig. 30). The old paneling of Bourquin was abolished and replaced by a curved front with an unbroken row of little round-headed panels. The floor of the gallery was sharply pitched to afford good visibility for those seated there. Some years later, with the installation of a new organ, the old steps to the attic were changed.[54]

In comparing the photograph after 1867 (Fig. 30) with Kleckner's stereoscope view of 1866 (Fig. 24) we find that the box coverings for the old stairway in the corners of the gallery have disappeared—another bit of evidence that the stairways were completely torn out and rebuilt in a different form at this time. Formerly the stairs

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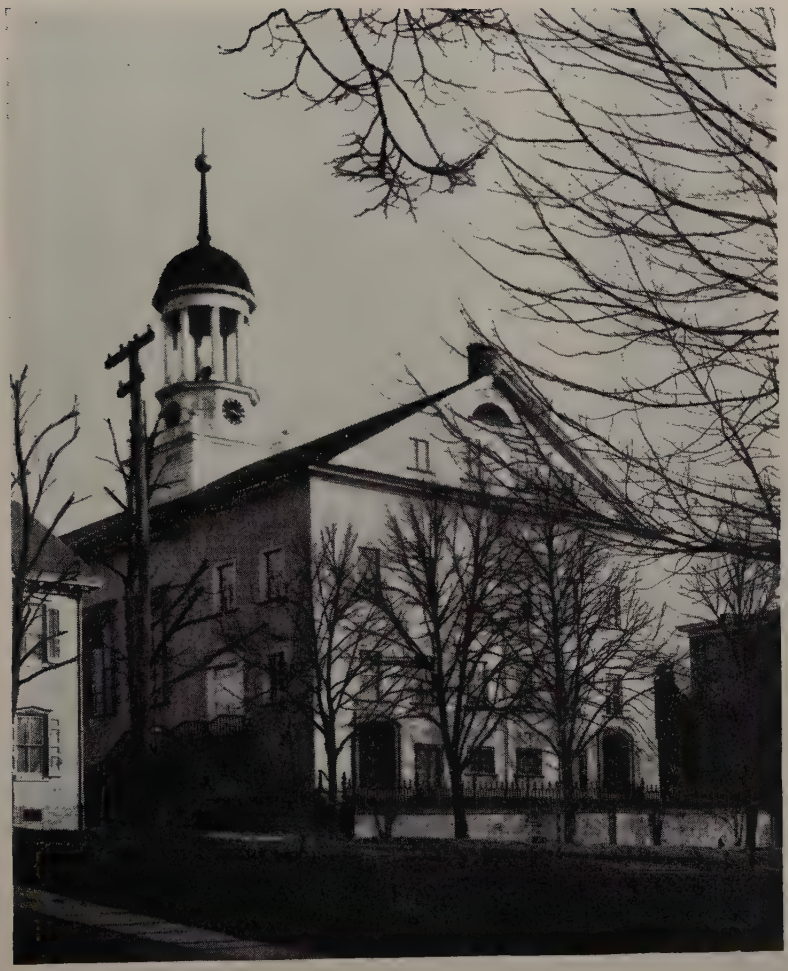
[54] Minutes, Board of Trustees: November 21, 1873: The steps behind the organ leading to the garret will have to be removed to a different place and Mr. Isaac Walp was instructed to do the work.

Fig. 31.—LITHOGRAPH OF 1877. A fairly accurate representation of the appearance of the church from SW at that time, except for the simulated stone work of the stuccoed walls.

had led to a blind hall at the lower or basement level, but now doors were cut in the west end of the building to replace the original end windows and give direct access from the exterior to the new stairways (cf. Figs. 13, 28, 32).

The chandeliers and wall brackets which had been imported from Germany were retained, but the pulpit was now lighted by two tall ornate standards with spiral shafts carrying four burners. The front walls and cove were painted to imitate panels with carved mouldings and florid ornament over the arches of the windows, doorways, and apse (Fig. 29).

Twenty years later a new committee recommended "warmer tints to be employed and that a departure from the stiff panel work be made without, however, adopting



Negative in Moravian Archives

FIG. 32.—CHURCH FROM NW AFTER REMODELING OF 1867. The large arched doorways at the basement level were introduced at this time.

Photo in Moravian Archives

FIG. 33.—EAST END OF AUDITORIUM AFTER THE REDECORATING OF 1888. The painted panels of the wall are here replaced by a simpler design. Chandeliers were removed and the reflector and ventilator in ceiling substituted.

an extremely extravagant pattern."[55] The committee further preferred the flat effect of water color decorations to the shiny surface of oil, but advised oil as more practical for the walls when they later learned that an oil coat need not be shiny. They still argued for "water color on the ceiling and cove surrounding the ceiling, which is

[55] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1888.

From negative of about 1880

FIG. 34.—PULPIT OF 1867, HYMN BOARDS OF SOMEWHAT LATER DATE.

the most promising part of the room to display artistic work."

That the new simpler treatment of the walls was an improvement over the imitation paneling there can be little doubt, but the "display of artistic work" on the cove has little to recommend it (Fig. 33).

The redecorating which occurred in 1888 was to some extent a temporizing measure to satisfy renewed demands for alterations and repairs. But let the minutes tell the story:

> April 5, 1888: The Board moved to repair the interior, to carpet the audience room, to remove present pendant chandeliers, and replace them with over head reflectors.

It also discussed the inadequate heating and ventilation. The committee on remodeling made a lengthy report

on May 11, 1888, among the recommendations were the following:

> I. Remove the Archives [this would mean first erecting a fireproof building for them. Suggested this be a memorial to Edmund de Schweinitz].
>
> then: A. Throw the entire east end of the church building now occupied by the vestry rooms and halls into the main audience chamber (also the archives room on the second floor).
>
> B. Place the organ at the eastern end of the church in the center and the pulpit in front of it.
>
> C. Reseat the church with new pews.
>
> D. Remodel the organ gallery to give more seating capacity to the auditorium.
>
> [These ideas were due to the increase in membership and the feeling that "the future of the Moravian Congregation was bound up in one central edifice."]

These suggestions were evidently too radical to be acceptable, especially the idea of opening the whole eastern end-section into the auditorium. It is not surprising, therefore, that these were never carried out.

Robert Rau, for the committee on the interior decorations, recommended "warmer tints," but added that the color would depend upon what was done to the windows —the tint of glass and general style decoration would be governed by the kind of artificial lights whether reflectors or pendants. The estimated cost of painting was $1100.00.

The light committee reported that there were persistent complaints: that the south windows admitted too much daylight for comfort and the gas lights at night made too much heat. The committee recommended:

> 1. Shades on the north side as well as on the south side as at present
>
> or 2. Tint the glass
>
> or 3. Venetian Blinds, "as were used 25 years ago—they went out of fashion but are now again quite in style, especially in many fine residences."
>
> or 4. Use of figures or colored glass [but the committee advised against this as being more for ornament than utility and recited the unhappy experiences of Trinity Church and Lehigh Chapel which had had to paint the

outside of the windows to reduce the glare. Therefore, the committee recommended tinting.]

Few churches, it was found, used reflectors, so, to correct the excess heat from the gas lights, the architect suggested standards similar to those at the pulpit with wall brackets of 5 to 8 burners each. But the committee recommended "raising the present chandeliers a few feet and changing the globular round shades to shades of a conical form which better throw down the light."

The Board reached no conclusion in any of these matters at this time and at the May 31 meeting the committee brought in a new set of recommendations:

1. Refresco walls and ceiling
2. Repaint the woodwork
3. Partial removal of the Bottom Board of the pews
4. Tinting the windows if feasible
5. Raising the chandeliers
6. New carpets, kneeling benches, book racks and such minor improvements.

All these items were adopted and the Board also approved the early removal of the archives as soon as a fireproof room could be built. It was voted to spend $5000.00 on repairs.

In spite of these recommendations the chandeliers were removed and reflectors introduced as is evidenced by a photograph in the Archives (Fig. 33).

Twenty years is the average length of time between alterations. Is it that tastes change with each generation? Or does everyone grow restless after about so long and feel a need for change? The Minutes of the Board of Trustees for December 3, 1904, record a recommendation to "repair the outside brown stone stair-cases" without however "changing the design of the approaches to the church" and a suggestion that the pulpit platform be remodeled "with a view toward reducing the height of the present pulpit and possibly change the method of entering the recess from the lower platform; if found necessary to lower the present alcove so as to come under-

Photo courtesy J. and R. Lamb

FIG. 35.—EAST END OF AUDITORIUM AFTER REMODELLING OF 1905.

neath the ceiling of the present archive room," and as a third recommendation, "that new glass be put into the windows."

No explanation is given as to the reason for these changes and one wonders if there was some thought of reconverting the archive room into the "little meeting room." By lowering the height of the apse to the level of the ceiling of the vestry it would cease to rise above the *floor* of the archives room and would restore the former "Kleiner Saal" to its original aspect.

No action on these recommendations was reported, but the matter must have been brewing in the minds of the trustees, for in July a committee was appointed "to plan alterations for the church." From this it would seem

From negative in Moravian Archives
FIG. 36.—WEST END OF AUDITORIUM AFTER REMODELLING OF 1905.

that more extensive changes were being considered than a mere lowering of the platform. It was a year later, however, before the report was brought in; the committee did not present this itself but introduced "Mr. Lamb, the architect, recently authorized by the church council to lower the present pulpit platform." His plan called for "one riser of about seven inches instead of two steps of six inches, to cut back the depth of the platform to the amount of the width of the present tread and to enlarge the top platform under the communion table to sufficient size to allow of easy access." But his plans did not stop with the lowering of the platform, and the implication in the minutes is, that the more elaborate changes were his idea. We may question whether they originated with him

Photo by Henry Shimer

FIG. 37.—WEST END OF AUDITORIUM AFTER THE FIRE OF NOVEMBER 1941.

or with some member of the committee who may have thought that the interior of the church could be improved. The very fact that an "architect was authorized by the church council" would indicate that extensive changes were contemplated.

The minutes continue, "The architect also explained the details regarding the alteration of the alcove in size and shape and the position of the round columns and the square pilasters shown in the sketch." All of this was approved by the church council and adopted by the trustees. Among the changes suggested was one for the west end of the church—"to free the westerly windows now covered by the balcony." This created considerable discussion as it would involve a change in the pitch of the gallery seats and the committee "felt that more seating capacity could be secured by bringing forward the central portion of the gallery" (to make up for the loss in cutting

back the sides). There was also discussion about the need for a ventilator—evidently the old system had not been very satisfactory—and the possibility of a "grill in the ceiling of the alcove." Work was to start nine days later on June 26, 1905. However, on that day a special meeting was called to settle a matter on which there had been considerable disagreement. This pertained to the "suggestion of the architects, J. and R. Lamb, regarding the introduction of the large pilasters between the windows." It was decided to obtain an estimate of the additional expense involved. When it was learned that the cost would be about twelve hundred dollars, the pilasters were included.

This led to the most extensive change in the interior of the church since the remodeling of 1867. The arched opening of the apse was made lower and narrower, and framed by four Corinthian columns, two on each side of the opening (Fig. 35). As the columns stood free of the wall on a podium or base at the height of the upper pulpit level, a section of moulding at the lower point of the cove was brought forward as an entablature. Under this and over the center of the arch was placed a small console. The spandrels of the arch were decorated with painted wreaths and scrolls, and on the architrave or lower section of the entablature was a gilt Greek fret. The effect of a continuous entablature about the room was secured by the much-discussed pilasters; these framed the windows and were grouped at the corners, so that they seemed to carry the entablature and give it significance. The pedestal-projections of the wainscotting on which the pilasters seemed to rest united them with the rest of the room. Two small pilasters broke up the emptiness of the apse wall. The windows were once again furnished with Venetian blinds and the arch-heads filled in with pierced panels which admitted light and yet screened the portion not covered by the blinds.

The gallery (Fig. 36) was modified as recommended by cutting back the ends to a straight line at the western

Photo by Tobias, 1945

FIG. 38.—WEST ENTRANCE DOORS AT BASEMENT LEVEL. End doors were re-designed in 1905 to agree with the original doors on north and south. Compare these with the preceding ones introduced in 1867 (Fig. 32) and with the original wall arrangement (Fig. 13).

edge of the first windows and by bringing the central section well forward supported by two sturdy-looking columns. The old Victorian paneling was replaced with a pattern based upon the original design of Johann Friederich Bourquin—rosettes in lozenges framed by small paneled pilasters.

The doors under the balcony into the auditorium were unchanged—these had plain frames and were flat topped, but the arched doorways of the east end were given more appropriate frames which took their cue for the design from the exterior doors of 1803 by Mr. Davis.

Above each of the east doors was set a new hymn board made up of classic elements to accord with the general classic motif of the new decorations. The old pulpit setting, slightly modified, was retained—the more irregular and ornamented panels were removed and the ends straightened and lowered. New chairs, straighter and severer if not exactly classic models, replaced the General Grant furniture. All were painted in very light tones of cream and buff with gold accents.

The ceiling had golden borders of a Greek anthemion pattern. Two larger ventilators replaced the former ineffective ones. The greatest change in the ceiling, however, was the removal of all gas fixtures. New electric lights hidden by the broad band of the upper moulding, created what was probably the first instance of indirect lighting in a church. It has proved very effective.

Slight changes in the general decorative scheme have since been made; the gilded Greek borders have been eliminated, the design in the spandrels modified and later (1941) the whole interior was again repainted, but the general warm yellowish color scheme retained. The repainting of 1941 was not much more than dry when the fire of November 29 occurred, the heat of which was so intense that the paint blistered and the wood-work at the west end was charred (Fig. 37). The room was promptly restored to its previous appearance.

The only exterior change was in the design of the arched basement entrances to conform to the original ones on the north and south (cf. Figs. 32 and 38 with Fig. 15).

The attitude toward the old has changed in the past few years; we have become conscious of the value of our heritage. Any modification in the appearance or construction of the church should be in the direction of restoring the building to its earlier form.

APPENDIX

Consecration of the Moravian Church
BETHLEHEM, PA.

As recorded in the Diary of the Congregation,
May 18 and 20, 1806

TRANSLATED BY W. N. SCHWARZE

Friday, May 16, 1806

The whole congregation, the children excepted, met in the church (Old Chapel). Brother Loskiel urged the brethren and sisters, first of all, to attend the services very regularly in the new church, the consecration of which we had before us, in order that they might not, through needless neglect of a service, deprive themselves of a blessing, which could not be compensated for by anything else. Then he communicated to the congregation one and another desire of the Elders' Conference concerning the regulations to be observed in our new church and closed with a prayer, all kneeling, wherein he thanked the Saviour for all blessings enjoyed in the old place of worship, implored forgiveness where we in the same had not been to His joy and glory, and besought Him that His blessing might accompany us into the new place of worship.

Sunday, May 18, 1806

This day designated for the consecration of our new church (Kirchensaal) was announced from the belfry of the same early, at five o'clock, with the sound of trumpets, trombones, and other wind instruments. A bright morning gave promise of a beautiful day, and every one awakened with a heart attuned to happiness and festal enjoyment. At eight o'clock, the congregation assembled for the last time in the old church, in which it had held its services for more than fifty years, and, after Brother Loskiel had exhorted the brethren and sisters to thankfulness for the never-to-be-forgotten blessings enjoyed in the same, the congregation proceeded, with the wish that these blessings might accompany us and, indeed, that the Lord Himself might go with us, and to the strains of the stanza, "Unsern Ausgang segne Gott, unsern Eingang gleichermassen" etc. (The Lord preserve

our going out and our coming in, etc.,) in the following order, first the laborers and laboresses among the brethren and the sisters, then, our children and youth of both sexes, and, finally, all the brethren and sisters. As soon as the liturgist entered the church auditorium (Saal), the trombonists from the choir-gallery began to play the tune of, "Now thank we all our God," etc. Hereupon the choir of voices sang to the assembling congregation, "Enter into his gates with thanksgiving and into his courts with praise; be thankful unto him and bless his name. For the Lord is good; his mercy is everlasting; and his truth endureth to all generations." No words are adequate to describe the mighty, all-pervading sense of the gracious presence of God our Saviour, which filled the whole church auditorium (Saal) and came upon all with such affecting power that all as with one voice might have cried out, "Surely, the Lord is in this place!" Inspired of such heart-lifting feelings, the assembled congregation sang, "Heiliger Herre Gott, heiliger starker Gott, heiliger barmherziger Heiland, Du ewiger Gott, Segne die Gemeine durch dein Leiden, Blut und Tod! Kyrie, eleison!" (Most holy Lord and God, Holy Almighty God, Holy and most merciful Saviour, Thou Eternal God; Bless Thy Congregation Through Thy sufferings, death, and blood: Have mercy, O Lord.) and "Hebe auf die durchgegrabnen Hände über die Gemeine und vollende alle die Segen, die sich in deinem Herzen für uns regen!" (Lift up Thy pierced hands upon Thy congregation and fulfill all the blessings that are stirred in Thy heart for us!)

With these words the congregation fell upon its knees and thanked the Saviour in a fervent prayer led by Brother Loskiel and with outpouring of many tears of joy and thanksgiving for the happy completion of the building, for the help and sustaining power wherewith He has furthered the work of our hands, and for the protection and overruling care He had vouchsafed those who labored on this house of God, so that none suffered any serious injury and, then, dedicated this house of our Lord to the honor and glory of His name, for the proclamation of His saving Gospel, and for the manifestation of the spirit and power of the Word of the Cross and of the blood of reconciliation.

After the congregation had again been seated, the liturgist declared that now since the point has been reached, after the waiting and longing for many years, when we can assemble in a church answering to our wishes and needs and we have solemnly dedicated the same to God our Lord, we join in covenanting before His countenance to make use of it as His heart desires and as it may be well pleasing unto Him. Hereupon Brother Loskiel in the name of the congregation thanked all those who had labored on this structure and had by their art and skill contributed to its appropriate arrangements and adornment, those who had supervised and directed building operations from

the beginning to the end, and, finally, all those who had contributed liberally toward meeting the costs involved and wished for them individually and altogether God's rich blessing.

Although all possible precautions had been taken to guard against the pressing of strangers into this first service, it was not possible entirely to prevent it, and we were glad that they preserved quiet and order, so that they caused no disturbance. Afterward the pressure of the multitude streaming in from all sides was so great that the sacristans were hardly able to place enough benches in the church auditorium (Saal) for the sermon, and before this could begin the place was so filled with people that no room for sitting or standing remained. According to rough estimate, the number of people in the church was between two and three thousand. Brother Loskiel preached the first dedicatory sermon and spoke from the pulpit fixed above the seat of the liturgist, which was dedicated to the Lord in a special prayer, on the words of the text, "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men." Rev. 21:3. He pointed out that though these words strictly applied directly to the heavenly Jerusalem, which all believers hoped at some time to see, this church (Saal) now dedicated may also be represented as a tabernacle of God with men, since properly all churches and meeting-houses designated for the service of God are to be regarded as tabernacles of God with men. Basis therefor is (1) that God does not wish to be separated from men and will, therefore, in this church meet with them, (2) that in this church the will of God concerning our salvation is to be proclaimed and that, therefore, the Saviour as the mercy-seat is to be so made known and depicted before the eyes of men as if he were crucified among us, whereby we, though with sadness, should be obliged to deny salvation to all who would not turn to this mercy-seat and abide there to the end, (3) that here, too the will of God shall be made known with respect to our conduct and it be shown how our walk and conversation must conform with faith in the Gospel, (4) that here, likewise, the love of God shall be taught with respect to our sanctification, (5) that in this place prayer shall be offered to God and there be weeping before Him. In short, God and men would here meet one another, God with the riches of His grace and men with their wretchedness and all their needs. This, then, be reason enough for rejoicing over this new church (Saal) as a tabernacle of God with men and summon us to unite our voices with thankful hearts in the hymn, "Herr Gott, dich loben wir, Herr Gott, wir danken dir," etc. ("O God, the Lord, to Thee we raise," etc.), which was, then, sung at the conclusion of the sermon.

The concourse of people continued to increase during the time of the preaching service, so that it can be assumed that toward 6000 people were assembled, of whom, of course, the church could accommodate only about one third. The main street from the Inn to

the Brethren's House was as though sown over with people. A remarkable stillness and order ruled this great throng, for which next to God we were indebted to the arrangement that no strong drinks were served the strangers but only beer and baked foods and that two government officials had been secured to control behaviour.

In the afternoon, at three o'clock, there was the English dedicatory sermon, which Brother Benade delivered on the text I Kings 9:3, "And the Lord said unto him (Solomon), I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast made before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put my name there forever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually." Brother Benade took from this gracious answer of the Lord to the solemn prayer wherewith Solomon had dedicated the temple at Jerusalem the opportunity to put forward, in the first part of his sermon, the idea that this church had been erected with no other intention than that it might please the Lord to put His name there forever, that, therefore, the same had been consecrated to the name of the Lord alone, and, indeed, to that name of which the Lord Himself had spoken in the Old Covenant, when He passed before the face of Moses and which in the New Covenant has been revealed so gloriously in the work of our salvation, that Christ and Him crucified shall here be proclaimed, though thereby we should be mocked of all the world, and that to Jesus the Friend of sinners all men shall here be invited, since no other Name is given them, whereby they must be saved. The second part dealt therewith that since we had dedicated it to Him with prayer and supplication, we now expected in faith that He would deal with us as graciously as He dealt with Solomon and the people of Israel, that He has heard our prayer and supplication and Himself has sanctified this house and that the assured feeling of His presence in this place permits us to hope in confidence that He will grant us and continue to us the beautiful and comforting promise that His eye shall be here perpetually, directed in love and mercy upon all the poor and wretched and His heart pierced for us shall ever be open to souls needing salvation and hungering for grace.

Since many strangers, especially those who dwell 12 to 16 miles away from here had started for home soon after noon, the church was not nearly as filled for this sermon as for the first. In course of both sermons the constant going out and in caused unpleasant disturbance alike for those speaking and those hearing. We hope, however, that many will have taken home with them a blessed impression of that which they heard.

Toward evening, few strangers were left here, so that the brethren and sisters could attend unhindered the German preaching service, which began at 7.30, when Brother Herbst of Lititz considered the passage II Tim. 2:19, "The foundation of God standeth sure, having

this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." He emphasized, first, that the firm foundation of God is none other than Jesus Christ, the Rock of our salvation upon Whom the whole church of God on earth is reared, as each member of the same in particular, must be fixed upon (rooted in) Him and that, then, on His part, it necessarily follows that He recognizes each one as His own and has entered with each one upon His covenant of grace and peace, and, on our part, that we forswear all fellowship with sin and through faith, love, and obedience prove ourselves to be His disciples and followers.

With this meeting the services of this festal day were brought to a close.

The collections gathered after the preaching services reached a total of 185 dollars.

As it was known beforehand that the customary great concourse of people in this country on occasions of church dedications would prevent the holding of all the accustomed congregation services without disturbance, it had been decided to devote the dedication-day of our new church (Kirchen Saal), as above referred to, mainly to the strangers in the manner described. And it had been contemplated thereby to arrange for the congregation a special day of thanksgiving and rejoicing, on which the congregation might dedicate its church (Saal) undisturbed in accordance with the congregation spirit. For this purpose the 20th of May had been fixed by the Elders' Conference of this congregation and approved by direction of our dear Lord.

On this day, May 20, the first service was held in the morning at 8.30 o'clock. The choir sang, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our maker. For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand." The liturgist saluted the congregation, "Welcome, O congregation, in this house of the Lord, be joyful or weep, thy Friend welcomes both! If tenderness of heart be the motive, abide with the Man of Sorrows, Whose object thou art." Hereupon Brother Loskiel said that on this day, which the Lord Himself has made for us, we appear before Him as a living congregation of Jesus, whose desire it is that He may dwell among us and walk in our midst and that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as often as we assemble here in His name, may be near us in the Man of Sorrows. And then he called upon the brethren and sisters to renew their covenant with the Lord our God, to be His alone. to live for Him according to our doctrinal text of the day, (Little children abide in Him. I John 2:28), to "abide in Him." Then the congregation kneeling dedicated this church (Saal) to the Saviour, particularly, both for our general and special con-

gregational services and prayed of Him that He might especially acknowledge us as His own in the observance of the sacraments today as in future in grace and with blessing.

At 10 o'clock, the congregation assembled for the baptism of the adult nineteen-year old Sarah Rothrock, who sometime since had received permission to come to this settlement congregation and was now to be received, at the same time, into the congregation through holy baptism. During the singing of the stanza, "Komm Sünd 'rin komm, jetzt sind die Gnadenstunden, komm es ergiesset sich das Blut der Wunden," etc. (Come sinner, come, these are the hours of grace, Come, the blood of the wounds is poured forth, etc.), the candidate for baptism was conducted into the church (Saal) by two laboresses among the single sisters, who acted, at the same time, as sponsors. She took her seat before the liturgist between the two sisters named. After Brother Loskiel had spoken appropriately and with reference to the solemn act to be performed on the watchword of the day, "Zu der Zeit word sich der Mensch halten zu dem der ihn gemacht hat, und seine Augen werden auf den heiligen in Israel schauen." Jes. 17:7 "Der auch so angenehm mein Heil bedacht hat," 346,5. ("At that day shall a man look to his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel." Isa. 17:7 "Who that my soul might live, Assum'd my nature"), he directed a heart-felt and searching charge to the candidate for baptism and put to her the questions customary on such occasions, which she answered with heart-felt joy in the affirmative, prayed to the Saviour for her and baptized her with threefold affusion, giving the name Sarah Louise. During the singing of "Amen Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Amen, Hallelujah!" the congregation knelt and the one baptized lay prostrate in adoration, suitable stanzas being sung meantime. Hereupon the one baptized received from the assisting sisters the kiss of peace, and, after the benediction had been pronounced, she was conducted from the church auditorium by the sisters referred to above during the singing of the stanza, "Sein Friede der höher als alle Gedanken, der müsse nie von dir entweichen noch wanken," etc. (His peace that is higher than all thinking, must ne'er waver nor depart from thee, etc.). This transaction under a strong feeling of the presence of God made a specially deep impression on many of those present who witnessed the baptism of an adult, for the first time.

In the afternoon, at three o'clock, the whole congregation enjoyed a happy love-feast service, at which a psalm specially prepared for the occasion by Brother Loskiel was sung. The collection gathered afterward amounted to 154 dollars. In the evening, the Saviour affixed His seal to the blessings experienced by this congregation in these days through an exceedingly blessed enjoyment of the sacred elements of the body and the blood of the Holy Communion. And since the limited space in our old church for Communion observance occasions

had been one of the strongest reasons for proposing a larger edifice, it gave us particular satisfaction to celebrate this holy transaction in a manner befitting its sacred dignity. In every respect, this was a day which the Lord had made for us and which will remain unforgettable for us and the visiting brethren and sisters who had come from the nearer and more distant settlement-, town-, and country-congregations for the festive dedication ceremony. Very few strangers were present, so that the solemn and quiet stirring of the spirit so characteristic of a congregation was not disturbed by anything. The weather today, as on Sunday, was bright and beautiful and all things seemed to join to complete our joy in our beautiful, roomy church (Saal), most comfortably arranged to serve all purposes of our services. The Saviour grant that His Name may be glorified in the same in and through us.

ANNUAL MEETING
Moravian Historical Society

October 10, 1946

The business meeting convened in the museum at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Penna., October 10, 1946, at 11:15 a. m., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Ten members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society, October 11, 1945, had been approved by the Executive Committee, and reading of them was not called for. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual financial statement. The following is an abstract, viz.,

Cash balance on hand, October 1, 1945	$2489.77
Receipts	1595.55
Total	4805.32
Disbursements	2010.27
Balance on hand, October 1, 1946	2075.05

Investments amounted to $16,818.56, an increase over last year of $714.56. The trust funds amount to $11,668.05.

Upon motion, the report, properly audited, was accepted and filed.

For the Special Committee appointed on the matter of the old school building and cemetery at Oley, Penna., Dr. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Chairman, reported that this property had been offered for sale by the present owners for the sum of $2000.00, that the Committee had visited the property, that Mr. Hahn, a member of the Committee, and a contractor, had estimated that it would cost approximately $8000.00 to put the school building in shape for preservation as a memorial. The Committee felt that the only possible procedure would be to form a Committee from

among members of the Society to collect a fund sufficient to purchase the property and make the most necessary repairs, which would total about $4000.00. The Committee had met with representatives of the Berks County Historical Society at Reading, Penna., and discussed the matter with them. Their advice was to purchase the property and then make an effort to turn it over to the State Historical Commission for development and permanent preservation. They added, however, that it was their experience that any grant from the State for such a purpose would require approval on the part of the State Legislature, and that to secure this would probably mean long drawn out efforts which might require a number of years. The matter was deferred for later consideration.

As the Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., had been ill for some time and was now in the hospital, no report could be given on library and museum activities.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.,

For Life Membership, Dr. Daniel S. Grosch,

For Active Membership, Mr. Henry A. Shimer, Mrs. Mary Weinland, Miss Anastasia Bahnsen, Mrs. Hattie I. Bergstresser, Mrs. George D. Bergstresser, Mrs. William T. Miller, Dr. Francis V. Meilicke, Mrs. Donald McCall, Mr. Charles E. Moyer, Mr. Judson G. Smull, Jr., Mr. John Schlegel, Mrs. Hazel Schlegel, the Rev. Edward H. Swavely, the Rev. John H. Johansen,

For Associate Membership, Mr. C. W. Jones, Dr. Arthur D. Graeff, Mrs. Minnie H. Cooley.

The following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year:

President, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.,

Vice-President, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.; the Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D.; Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D.; Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E.; Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.; the Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry,

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry,

Publication Committee, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.; the Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.; Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry; Mr. John E. Leibfried; Mr. Robert J. Desh; Mr. William E. Henry.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.; Mr. Andrew G. Kern; Mr. George W. Hahn; Professor Samuel C. Zeller, A.M.; the Rev. Robert I. Giering, A.M.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Herbert F. Ziegler; Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M.; Mr. George W. Hahn.

Bills presented and the customary honoraria for the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Librarian were approved for payment.

The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., who had attended the meeting of the Unity's Elders' Conference meeting in Switzerland, during the past summer, and had participated in the consecration as bishop of the Moravian Church of the Rev. Vaclav Vancura, in Czechoslovakia, the first Czech Bishop of the Moravian Church to be consecrated since John Amos Comenius, presented to the Society a fine, artistic pen sketch of the venerable Czech Bishop done by his grandson, Bohomil Vancura. This was greatly appreciated.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society, elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership named, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

After the trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church had announced the annual Vesper Meeting with the rendition of several chorale selections, about one hundred and sixty members and guests of the Society gathered

around the luncheon tables. The meeting was called to order at 1:15 p.m. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mrs. George F. Bahnsen, Mr. William H. Milchsack, Mrs. Henry Schlegel. In their memory the customary memorial stanza was sung, the members and guests standing.

After brief words of welcome and greeting to the members and guests assembled, the president presented as the speaker of the afternoon the Rev. Henry A. Kuehl, pastor of the Moravian congregation at Emmaus, Penna., who read a very interesting paper, entitled "The Beginnings and Development of the Moravian Settlement of Emmaus, Penna." The paper was based on original sources and was written in preparation for the celebration of the bi-centennial anniversary of the founding of the Emmaus congregation in 1947. This paper appears in this issue of *The Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society.*

The prolonged illness of the Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M. following his many years of faithful and interested service as Librarian of the Moravian Historical Society called forth remarks appreciative of his valued services in the Museum and Library of the Society. The President voiced the grateful appreciation of the Society of work done in his enforced absence by the Rev. Edward H. Swavely and the Rev. Robert H. Brennecke, Jr., and the interim appointment of the Rev. Edward H. Swavely as acting Librarian was recommended by the Executive Committee.

The Secretary read the names of those who had been elected to membership of the Society during the year and at the business meeting of the morning. One of the new members, Dr. Arthur D. Graeff was introduced, and he responded briefly with appropriate remarks.

After the singing of a suitable hymn stanza, the eighty-ninth annual meeting was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

IN MEMORIAM

Mrs. George Bahnsen

was born in Neudietendorf, Germany, February 5, 1862. She died in Nazareth, Penna., September 18, 1946. She joined the Society in 1887.

Mrs. Henry Schlegel

was born in Lower Nazareth Township, near Nazareth, Penna., July 17, 1881. She died in Nazareth, Penna., July 13, 1946. She joined the Society in 1925.

William H. Milschsack

was born in Bethlehem, Penna., March 28, 1860. He died in Bethlehem, Penna., March 13, 1946. He joined the Society in 1920.

PREFACE

A recent issue of a current magazine carried a cartoon of an old house with a group of people gazing at it. A man is addressing the group and says: "This old house has quite a history, but nobody knows what it is."

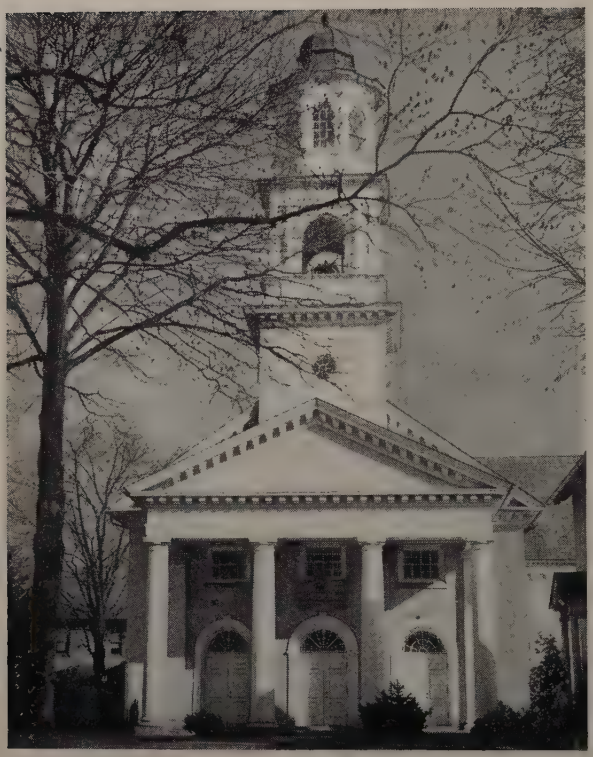
Some of our churches likewise have quite a history, and in some cases very few people know much about it.

Our president, Dr. William N. Schwarze, merits our thanks for his foresight and temerity in urging an amateur, such as the author regards himself to be, to attempt to write up the history of a congregation that has been in existence for two hundred years.

The records contain so much material of real interest that one is compelled to confess that, even after much searching, many precious jewels of information still lie undiscovered in the historical mine.

Here will be attempted the presentation of only the most interesting and important portions of the material that has been gathered on "THE BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT AT EMMAUS, PENNSYLVANIA."

Emmaus March 15, 1947 Henry A. Knehl



THE BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT OF EMMAUS, PENNSYLVANIA

Presented at the Annual Meeting
of the
MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
October 10, 1946
by
HENRY A. KUEHL
Pastor of the Emmaus Moravian Congregation

PART I
Early Settlers and Organization of the Congregation
PART II
Historical Sketch of the Moravian School at Emmaus
PART III
The Congregational Village (or Gemein-Ort)
PART IV
Some Recent Developments and Items of General Interest

The Beginnings and Development of the Moravian Settlement at Emmaus, Pennsylvania

PART I.

Early Settlers and Organization of the Congregation

EMMAUS, in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, lies ten miles south-west of Bethlehem. The region in which it is located was originally known as Maguntschi, an Indian name said to mean "Bear Swamp;" later it was called Salisbury.[1]

As early as 1723 settlers began trickling into this section of the country, and by 1740, families, whose names frequently appear in Moravian records, were already established here. The heads of some of these families were: Jacob Ehrenhardt, Abraham Ziegler, George Christ, Frederick Winch, Rudolph Andreas, Sebastian Knauss, and Frederick Rauschenberger.[2]

These settlers, however, were not Moravians. How they became affiliated with the Moravian Church can best be shown by recounting the experiences of two of their leaders, namely, Sebastian Knauss and Jacob Ehrenhardt.

The former was born in Wetteravia, in 1714, and was reared in the Reformed faith. He came to America in 1723, and later, while learning his trade at the home of pious Henry Antes, in Frederickstown, Montgomery County, he began to profit spiritually, in so far as to question whether all was well with him.

In 1738, Sebastian Knauss located in Salisbury. He was united in marriage to Catherine Transau,in 1741.[3]

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[1] Kirchen Buch der Gemeine in Salisbury. Book 1, pages 1, 2.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. page 23.

While visiting Bethlehem with his wife in 1742, his soul was stirred anew, and under the influence of the Holy Spirit he found his Saviour.[4]

Jacob Ehrenhardt, the co-worker of Brother Knauss, was a native of Worms, Germany; born in the year 1716; and reared in the Lutheran faith. He came to America in 1739, located in Maguntschi, and in 1740 married Barbara Andreas.[5]

His spiritual experience was that of a blind man groping in the dark. He searched within himself and without, heard now this preacher and now that one; he prayed and sought to leave the evil and do the good, but all was not sufficient to quiet the unrest of his heart.[6]

This man confessed that he often prayed that God would lead him to His people or to those who could show him the way of salvation.

In 1741, he heard of the Moravian brethren, and was soon convinced that they were the people of God. He invited them to visit him, and upon this, several, among them David Nitschmann, held a song service in his house and related many things that the Saviour, through His life, work, and sacrifice, had done.[7]

This visit was a lasting blessing to him and his family. These souls, thus called and prepared, were to be the instruments in God's hands for the founding of the Emmaus congregation.

In the fall of 1741, God especially blessed the little group of Christians in Pennsylvania through the person of Count Zinzendorf, who had made known his willingness to preach the Word of Life to all hungry souls wherever it was desired.

Immediately the Brethren Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss united in sending a request to Zinzendorf to preach in the house of the former. This request was complied with and the Count soon thereafter preached in Ehren-

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[4]Kirchen Buch der Gemeine in Salisbury. p. 23.

[5] Ibid. page 31.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

hardt's house to a large company, but very briefly, on the words, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it." Matthew 7:14.[8]

Soon thereafter three brethren, Sebastian Knauss, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Andrew Schaus, petitioned Zinzendorf that the church at Bethlehem take the Christians in Maguntschi under their spiritual supervision and that through the Brethren the Gospel might be preached to them.

This request was granted on the condition that everything should be instituted according to Lutheran practice. This was agreeable to them and they accepted the stipulation with gratitude.[9]

In the fall of 1742, the people united in building a log church, the first to be erected in that section.[10] It stood on the north-east corner of what is now the Old Moravian Cemetery, in Emmaus. A marble shaft marks the location of this church. Fifty acres of land had been donated by Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss for church and cemetery in 1742.

As soon as the church was completed the Brethren in Bethlehem supplied the preachers. Of these Leonard Schnell preached the most frequently, with blessing to many of all sects and religious creeds, and administered the sacraments according to the Lutheran usage, although Reformed and others participated.[11]

A second church building was erected on a site to the rear of the present Moravian edifice in 1749.

Thus were the people of this settlement cared for in spiritual things until the year 1746, when they became solicitous for the spiritual welfare of their children and prepared to build a school.[12]

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[8] Kirchen Buch der Gemeine in Salisbury. pages 2, 3.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Diarium der Gemeine in Salisbury. Book 1, p. 3.

[12] Ibid. p. 4.

OLD MORAVIAN CEMETERY, Emmaus, Pa.
First Burial in 1743.
(Photo taken at Easter dawn service, 1947.)

The account of the Moravian School in Emmaus is presented later in this paper.

The year 1747 was characterized as being a time of blessing for children and parents alike. Many of the adults, who had shown themselves receptive to the work of the Spirit and the guiding hand of the church at Bethlehem, not only held faithfully to the church services and the teachings of the cross of Christ, but also gave frequent intimations that they were willing to stand in closer fellowship with the Moravian Brethren.[13]

Already ten persons from Maguntschi had become Moravians and were members of the Brethren's church in Bethlehem.

The names of these ten are:

1, 2. Sebastian Knauss and wife, Anna Catharina.
3, 4. Jacob Ehrenhardt and wife, Barbara.
5, 6. Samuel Eberhard Kopp and wife, Anna Catharina.
7. Conrad Wezel
8. Philip Krazer
9. Jacob Herrmann

[13] Ibid. p. 5.

SECOND CHURCH BUILDING, Emmaus, Pa., erected in 1749.

10. Heinrich Guth.[14]

It now appeared to the Bishops and Elders of the congregation in Bethlehem that it was time to bind together the ripe grain of the new settlement in Salisbury into a sheaf; so it was decided to organize these souls into a congregation of Jesus, and accordingly to provide them with the necessary administration and workers.

They, therefore, called together the ten members and other interested persons at a meeting in Bethlehem, discussed matters thoroughly with them and, as they declared themselves satisfactorily, they celebrated a lovefeast with them. This occurred on Sunday, July 23rd., 1747, and the following Sunday was definitely set as the time to consummate the organization in the name of Jesus.[15]

In consequence, on the Fifth Sunday after Trinity, July 30th., 1747, all persons who had been appointed to organize the little congregation, forty-four in number, some living in Salisbury and some in Saccona Township, assembled in

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[14] Kirchen Buch der Gemeine in Salisbury. p. 8.

[15] Ibid. p. 5.

Bethlehem and no one neglected to come except those prevented by sickness.[16]

The program for that Sunday was a full but happy one. First they all joined in morning praise. At nine o'clock they prayed the Litany. This was followed at 10 o'clock by a service at which Bishop John Frederick Cammerhof presided. Brother Joseph Shaw preached an English sermon and was followed by Bishop Cammerhof with a sermon in German. The Text of the latter was Matthew 27:39, "They that passed by reviled Him, wagging their heads." The speaker emphasized the thought that mankind is divided into two classes only — those who belong to Jesus Christ and those who belong to the devil; and said that "God's suffering and bloody anguish does not rhyme with philosophy."

By this time it was noon, so they had a Lovefeast in the congregation auditorium, during which the chief articles belonging to the plan of organization were presented to the members of the new congregation in a comprehensive manner. Then the Brethren and Sisters who were to be their leaders were introduced, namely;

1. Brother and Sister Anton and Elizabeth Wagner as elders.

2. Brother and Sister Johannes and Rosina Muenster as Trustees.

3. Brother and Sister Christoph and Maria Heyne, as Overseers of the children.

In the evening at six o'clock the entire Bethlehem congregation assembled. The newly formed congregation from Salisbury (like a baptismal child) was seated in the middle and surrounded by the congregation. After a hymn had been sung, Bishop Spangenberg spoke on the Daily Text; 1 Timothy 1:16, "That in me Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on Him to life everlasting."[17]

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Account of 50th. Anniversary. Emmaus Diary. July 1797.

The sermon revealed that a sinner who has found grace becomes a saint and pattern. Much was also said about the qualifications of prospective members and the proper choice of preachers and elders.

Anton Wagner and his wife were then installed by Bishop Spangenberg and his wife, respectively, as the servant and the maid of the congregation. Then Bishop Cammerhof asserted that the Saviour loves order in His congregations and gave Brother Muenster the office of overseer, saying, "your eye is to see — your ear is to hear — your hand is to lift the latch and enter." Sister Cammerhof advised Sister Muenster in similar fashion.[18]

Great concern for the children was manifest. Regret was expressed for those who had died without the privilege of learning about the Scriptures and useful arts; and to take care of this properly in the future Brother and Sister Christoph Heyne were installed as teachers and supervisors of the children.

Lastly, Brother and Sister Sebastian Knauss and Brother and Sister Jacob Ehrenhardt were selected as Church Wardens or "Diener," because they were considered to have experienced a real change of heart; and they were most impressively installed as such.

By this time it was eight o'clock in the evening and the meeting hall was arranged for the Communion in which ten from Bethlehem and ten from Salisbury participated.[19]

Finally after the Communion, all present united in a closing service of thanksgiving songs, and then the people from the Maguntschi valleys returned through the woods to their humble homes.[20]

The names of those who on the 30th of July, 1747, were admitted into the Communion of the Spirit by Brother Joseph are:[21]

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[18] Bethlehem Diary (in Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.), entry for July 30, 1747.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.

1, 2. Joseph Graff and his wife Susanna
3, 4. Peter Graff and his wife Margaretha
5, 6. Johannes Knaus and his wife Maria Catharina
7, 8. Jacob Loescher and his wife Catharina
9, 10. Johannes Kohler and his wife Eva Maria
11, 12, Martin Bamberger and his wife Elizabeth
13, 14. Johannes Landes and his wife Veronica
15, 16. Jacob Boerstler and his wife Catharina
17, 18. Anton Albrecht and his wife Catharina
19, 20. George Hartman and his wife Christina
21, 22. Tobias Weber and his wife Margaretha
23, 24. Peter Hoffman and his wife Catharina
25, 26, Rudy Oberly and his wife——
27, 28. Friedrich Rauschenberger and his wife Maria Barbara
29. Catharina Guth
30. Gertrude Cog
31. Rosina Pfingstag
32. Rosina Moz
33. Mrs. Philip Kratzer
34. Catharina Wezel

In all thirty-four souls.[22]

These thirty-four persons together with the ten who had previously united with Moravian church at Bethlehem were present at the organization meeting, and these forty-four people became the Charter Members of the newly formed congregation in Salisbury.

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[22] Kirchen Buch, No. I. Der Gemeine in Salisbury. page 7.

PART II

Historical Sketch of the Moravian School at Emmaus[23], Pennsylvania

"More than two centuries ago, in 1746, the people of the four-year-old Moravian settlement of Maguntschi translated into action their growing concern over the educational welfare of their children. Plans for a school had been discussed officially as early as September 6, 1745.[24] As a result of this discussion and subsequent ones, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss drew up a plan for the school-house on February 20, 1746.[25] Preparations for building were begun immediately, and the corner-stone of the school was laid on March 28th. of the same year. The entry for that date in the Bethlehem Diary gives a detailed account of that important occasion:

> Brother Joseph[26] left for Philadelphia to attend the Synod there; however, he travelled via Maguntschi in the company of Brethren Seidel, Mack, Pyrlaeus, and Hoepfner, to lay the corner-stone for the newly-planned school-house. It happened in this way:
>
> 'After Brother Pyrlaeus had sung a hymn dedicated to the occasion, Brother Joseph set the stone in place, stepped upon it, and prayed to the Lamb of God with fervent petition, that His name alone might be honored and glorified in this settlement and especially in this school-house.
>
> Afterwards a lovefeast was held with the breth-

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[23] The name Emmaus (Lehigh County, Pa.) was not applied to the settlement before 1761. Prior to that date it was called Maguntschi (in Indian, "the feeding place of the bears"), and later Salisbury.

[24] Levering, J. M. *History of Bethlehem, Pa., 1741-1892*, 207.

[25] Bethlehem Diary (in Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.), entry for February 20, 1746.

[26] Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who was called "Joseph" affectionately by his coadjutors, probably in comparing him with the Hebrew Joseph, who had cared for his brethren in a strange land.

ren and sisters and friends of the congregation, to whom this occasion was of special blessing, and who shed many tears (of joy) at it.'

"The school-house, of log construction, was opened on February 6, 1747,[27] apparently several months before its final completion. Christopher Demuth and his wife were placed in charge of the forty children who had been enrolled. By June of the same year, the day-school was extended to include a boarding-school.[28] Some well-trained children from Nazareth were added 'as a salt'[29] and on July 15, 1747, two New York children were admitted.[30]

"The school had developed to this point by the time of the formal organization of the Moravian Congregation at Emmaus, which on July 30, 1747, assembled at Bethlehem for the occasion.[31] In August, Brother and Sister Wagner were sent out from Bethlehem to Maguntschi for the express purpose of visiting the people of that neighborhood and soliciting pupils for the school.[32] According to the Bethlehem Diary, the formal and official opening of the school took place on September 18, 1747, and thereafter followed a rapid succession of admissions to both departments, day and boarding.[33] An Indian boy was among those early pupils. Brother and Sister Heyne, who had been assistants in the Moravian school in Germantown, Pa., were transferred to the Maguntschi school. By the close of the year 1747, three couples were serving the children of the school: They were, Anthony and Elizabeth Wagner, John and Rosina Muenster, and Christian and Mary Heyne. The earliest teachers, the Demuths, left the service of the school in the fall of 1747.[34]

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[27] Levering. Op. cit., 207.

[28] Bethlehem Diary. June 30, 1747.

[29] Levering. Op. cit., 207.

[30] Bethlehem Diary. July 15, 1747.

[31] Reichel, L. T. *Early Church History of the United Brethren.* 195.

[32] Bethlehem Diary. August 9, 1747.

[33] Ibid. September 18, 21, 28, 1747.

[34] Abel, Allen E., "The Emmaus Moravian Congregation." *Lehigh County Historical Society Publications.* Vol. II. 1910. 48

"The periodic entries concerning the Maguntschi school which appear in the Bethlehem Diary for the two ensuing years (1748 and 1749) show a steady increase in enrollment.

"The leaders in Bethlehem were ever interested in and helpful to the infant settlement of Maguntschi.[35] John de Watteville conferred frequently with the Wagners about the activities and conditions of the school.[36] Three deaths occurred among the pupils of the school during those days, little Indian Hannah on April 3, 1748; little Indian Rebecca on May 7, 1749, and five-year-old Samuel Graf, on June 18, 1749.[37] During those two years Brother and Sister Nixdorf taught at the school until their transfer to Lancaster on October 8, 1749.

"The gradual growth of the Maguntschi school was given a sharp impetus during the year of 1750. It was a year of changes and innovations. During the first month, the Wagners were transferred from Maguntschi to Quittopehille, and in their place were installed two couples; the Michlers as general supervisors of the school and other congregational activities, and the Peter Lehnerts from Nazareth as teachers.[38] Brother and Sister Oerter and Brother Hobsch, a single brother, were also engaged in teaching at the Maguntschi school during the year 1750. The Moravian boarding-school at Frederickstown in Montgomery County, which had been opened on June 3, 1746, on the plantation of Henry Antes, was closed in August of 1750 on account of the latter's estrangement from the United Brethren, and its pupils were transferred to schools in other Moravian settlements.

"On August 12th., sixteen boys from Frederickstown arrived at the Maguntschi school. They were graciously received into their new home by the resident pupils, teachers, and Brother Gottlieb Petzold, who had been sent spec-

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[35] Bethlehem Diary. March 28, 1748.

[36] Ibid. March 26; December 9, 1749.

[37] Ibid. June 19, 1749.

[38] Ibid. January 6, 1750.

QUARTETTE OF TROMBONISTS IN EMMAUS, 1859.
(Richard Giering, Henry Iobst, John Z. Iobst, Herman Knauss.)

ially from Bethlehem to assist with the installation of the Frederickstown boys.[39]

"During the next year, 1751, the Maguntschi school was further changed and augmented by another group who sought refuge in its midst. The Moravian school at Oley in Berks County, which had been built in 1745[40] and rebuilt in 1748, was abandoned because of financial strain[41] in the summer of 1751.[42] The boys of the Oley school were translocated to Maguntschi on September 10th.

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[39] Bethlehem Diary. August 12, 1750.
[40] Ibid. April 14, 1745.
[41] Levering. Op. cit., 252.
[42] Bethlehem Diary. August 12, 1751.

EMMAUS MORAVIAN TROMBONE CHOIR, 1946.
(Front row: Leo DeLong, Donald Muth, Willard J. Marks, Willard A. Marks, Stanley Marks; second row: Samuel Knauss, Edwin Knauss, Walter Weidner, Jr., George Knauss; third row: Forrest Weidner, Walter Kirschman, Donald Wagner, Walter Weidner, Sr., William Knauss.)

"This influx made it necessary during the ensuing two weeks to transfer the Maguntschi girls, together with the girls from the evacuated school at Oley, to Bethlehem, where they were distributed between the boarding-school and its adjunct in the Ysselstein house on the south side.[43]

"The boys residing in the Maguntschi boarding-school at that time came not only from Bethlehem, Nazareth, Frederickstown, and Oley, but among their number were included sons of wealthy New Yorkers and Philadelphians.[44] They were abundantly cared for both spiritually and temporally, 'with an allowance of meat twice a week'![45]

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[43] Ibid. July 17; September 15, 1751.
[44] Abel, Allen E., Op. cit., 49.
[45] Abel, Allen E., Op. cit., 49.

"The cost of board and schooling was six pounds sterling per year. Their books, such as German and English spellers, grammars, catechisms, hymnals, and Testaments, cost the pupils approximately three shillings per book. Other items appearing frequently in the expense accounts of these pupils were shoemaker and tailor charges, and the cost of frequent Lovefeasts.[46]

"Numerous changes occurred also among the staff of workers at the Maguntschi school during the eventful year of 1751. In April, the Michlers were transferred to Quittopehille, and were succeeded in Maguntschi by John Christopher Pyrlaeus.[47] Brother and Sister Brocksch were brought to the school as assistants in June, replacing the Lehnerts. Other additions to the school staff during 1751 were; in July, Brother and Sister Horn;[48] in September, the single Brethren Siedrich and Lindemeyer, the latter taking the place of Adam von Erdt.[49]

"The school, reinforced by the translocation of pupils from Frederickstown and Oley, continued to prosper steadily during the next year, 1752. The Horns who had served the school so faithfully, were invited to return to Bethlehem in March for a period of physical rest, mental relaxation, and spiritual uplift.

"During their absence their positions in the Maguntschi school were filled by Brother and Sister Francke.[50] In August, the single Brother Lauk, from Christiansbrunn, was added to the staff as an assistant instructor.[51] In September, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, who had planned the school originally in 1746, each gave twenty-five acres of their land to be added to the school grounds.[52]

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[46] The items and rates in this paragraph are quoted from "Jacob Ehrenhardt's Daily Account Book of the Maguntschi School, from March 8, 1747 to August, 1750."

[47] Bethlehem Diary. April 16, 1751.

[48] Ibid. July 30, 1751.

[49] Ibid. September 24, 1751.

[50] Bethlehem Diary. March 8, 1752.

[51] Ibid. August 14, 1752.

[52] Bro. Francke's Diary. Maguntschi. September 25 and 26, 1752.

"Brother Francke's Diary for September 1752, describes interestingly the joyful visit to Bethlehem by the entire Maguntschi student-body on the occasion of their school's Fifth Anniversary:

> 'The children left home at six o'clock on the morning of September 29th., the two oldest room-companies on foot, the younger ones by wagon. They arrived home again at night 'recht munter und vergnuegt'—without a single complaint of weariness!'

"The year of 1752 ended with a blessed Christmas celebration at the school, which attracted many visitors from Bethlehem, among whom were Brother and Sister Francis Boehler.[53]

"In strong contrast with the fruitful five years which followed its inception, the Maguntschi school was dealt a fatal blow in 1753. Its isolated location ten miles southwest of Bethlehem laid it wide open to Indian attack; and to forestall any brutal harm to the boys, the authorities deemed it expedient to close the school. The evacuation plan was outlined by Brethren Lawatsch, Hehl, and Christian Seidel at a conference in Maguntschi on July 23rd., at which it was agreed to return half of the boys to the care of their parents, and the other fourteen, whose parents were serving the church in distant places or were not alive, were to be transported to Bethlehem.[54] Accordingly, on August 27th., the fourteen boys were brought to Bethlehem and quartered there in a room in the Brethren's House, which had formerly been occupied by the boys of the Bethlehem school.[55] Eight teachers returned to Bethlehem with the boys.

"The torch of learning at Maguntschi was snuffed out but temporarily with the closing of the boy's boarding-school, and almost immediately was re-lighted by an attempt to re-establish the day-school for the children of

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[53] Bethlehem Diary. December 23, 1752.

[54] Bethlehem Diary. July 23, 1753.

[55] Levering. Op. cit., 252.

that area. Brother Brandmiller's Maguntschi Diary for November 19, 1753, reads as follows:

> 'This morning with six boys I opened school for the first time with prayer and the hymn, 'Jesus loves the little ones.' In the afternoon I conducted school with eight girls, and in the evening from 7 to 8 o'clock, night-school for three boys.'

By the close of 1754 it was considered safe by the authorities at Bethlehem to return to Maguntschi the boys who had been transferred to the Brethren's House during the summer of the preceding year. This was done on January 10, 1755, when a new boarding school was opened at Maguntschi, with Joachim Sensemann and his wife in charge of the house-hold, and John Petersen, a single brother, serving as preceptor. The whole establishment was under the superintendence of John Ettwein and Francis Boehler and their wives, now in charge of the entire department of work among the children of outlying places. The scene of the boys' departure from the Brethren's House and their trip to Maguntschi are graphically depicted in the Bethlehem Diary of January 10, 1755:

> 'This departure of the boys took place very slowly. A lovefeast was tendered to them at breakfast this morning in the dining-hall of the Brethren's House, where at 10 o'clock following, they enjoyed also a light mid-day repast, being entertained with music during the course of the meal. Their attention was called to the text of today.
>
> 'Upon leaving, they expressed their gratitude to our beloved Father Nitschmann and Lawatsch, and especially to Brother Gottlieb (Petzold) for his love and care, enjoyed by them during their stay in Bethlehem and in the Brethren's House. Our dear Father (Nitschmann) blessed them with the hymn, "Let them stand before Thee, cleansed in the blood of Thy grace, and go forth on their pilgrim path with Thy seal upon their brow.
>
> 'Our older Bethlehem boys accompanied these

fourteen little pilgrims (who departed two by two, and were very inspiring to behold) as far as the Lehigh, and standing on this shore, serenaded them with hymns until they had reached the other side of the river.

'Brother Ettwein and the older boys left our Inn and traveled to Salisbury on foot. The smaller boys followed in a wagon. The two Brethren, Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, as a testimony of their love and joyful reception, had come with their two wagons to fetch the boys; and a third wagon had been given them from here.'

"In July of 1755, John Schmidt and his wife went to the Maguntschi school to succeed the Sensemanns in their household supervision. At that time the number of boys in the newly formed school was sixteen. The entire group, with their teachers, spent several happy days in Bethlehem in their beloved Brethren's House in December of 1755.[56]

"The roots of the transplanted school found nourishment in Maguntschi's rich tradition of Jugendlehre, and in the ensuing years the school flourished once again.

"In 1758 the Engels were brought to Maguntschi to replace the George Schneiders in their school work.[57]

"In the same year Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, who six years earlier had given fifty acres to the school, donated jointly 102 acres of land for the erection of a Moravian hamlet. The land lay at the foot of South Mountain, and included the church, school and adjacent grounds.

"The village, consisting of 75 adults and 47 children, was surveyed and laid out in lots in April of 1759.[58]

"Several Salisbury entries in the Diarium der Land-Gemeinen throughout 1759 report the school as progressing 'steadily under God's blessing.'

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[56] Bethlehem Diary. December 2, 1755.

[57] Diarium der Land-Gemeinen. Salisbury. April 3, 1758.

[58] Ibid. December 21, 1758.

"Jacob Ehrenhardt, who had been a staunch and generous patron of the church and school at Salisbury, died at the age of 44 years on February 6, 1760. A biographical account, of special interest to the Emmaus congregation, may be found in the Diarium der Land-Gemeinen for February, 1760.

"The month of March, 1760, is reported to have been one of particular blessing and activity in both the church and school of Maguntschi.

"Brother and Sister Schweishaupt were engaged in the work of the Maguntschi school during 1759 and the first half of 1760. At the end of July, 1760, they were returned to Bethlehem before their transferal to Bethel on the Swatara, and were succeeded in their Maguntschi school work by Brother Neubert (also Neibert) and his wife. The latter were introduced to the congregation by the Spangenbergs on July 31, 1760. The Neuberts began their teaching on August 4, 1760, with 10 boys and 10 girls. On the afternoon of the same day, Brother Neubert was taken suddenly ill. Under the skillful care of Brother Matthew Otto of Bethlehem, he was restored to health within a week and was able to resume his classes. Again, in October of that year (1760), he was smitten by an illness, and was unable to conduct his classes for a two-week period.

"The Neuberts continued to serve the Emmaus school and congregation until their transferal to Schoeneck and their replacement in Salisbury by Brother and Sister Pitschmann on August 11, 1762. The latter having been introduced to the children by Brother Nathaniel Seidel, began his school services on Monday, August 16, with fourteen children in attendance. The last entry for that year on December 30 tells us that that day was for the children 'a very pleasant finale to a very good school year.'

"In October of the next year (1763) the Pitschmanns were transferred to Oley.[59] They were succeeded in Emmaus by Brother and Sister Wagner who had previously

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[59] Bethlehem Diary. October 16, 1763.

served the early Maguntschi congregation from 1747 to 1750.[60] During the Wagners' capable direction the school again flourished; and in 1763 the substantial building on the opposite side of the street was erected as a house of refuge in case of Indian attack. It was used for a time for school purposes.[61] The Wagners' second stay in Emmaus continued until November 14, 1766, when they were transferred to Donegal.

"July 30, 1766, marked not only the nineteenth anniversary of the establishment of the Emmaus congregation, but also the occasion of the dedication of a new church and Gemeinsaal.

"The Wagners were replaced by the Lindemeyers on November 28, 1766. The latter remained in Emmaus until 1773, when they were superceded by Brother and Sister Langgaard from Lancaster.[62] These new servants of the Lord were fondly received especially by the youth of the congregation.[63]

"The Emmaus school had by this time become a congregational school and continued to serve the community of Emmaus until the middle of the nineteenth century when it was replaced by the public school."[64]

(For the above Historical Sketch of the Moravian School at Emmaus, Pa., the author is indebted to Miss Mabel Haller, Philadelphia, Pa., who acknowledges with appreciation the helpful direction and counsel given her by Dr. W. N. Schwarze in collecting the data for this account from the manuscripts of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.)

It was not until 1861 that Emmaus was first mentioned as a separate School District in the report of the State

[60] Abel, Allen E., "The Emmaus Moravian Congregation."

[61] Roberts and Stoudt. Op. cit., 651.

[62] Memorabilia der Stadt-and Land-Gemeinen. June 30, 1773.

[63] Memorabilia. June 30, 1773.

[64] Roberts and Stoudt. Op. cit., 651.

Superintendent of Public Instruction. That report reveals that Emmaus at that time had two teachers and one hundred-nine pupils, and a school term of five months.[65]

The school was then housed in a four room building on Main Street, adjacent to the present Moravian Church. This building became inadequate in 1891, and then the Central School was erected.

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[65] Diamond Jubilee Book, 1934, Emmaus, Pa., page 66, "History of Our Public School System."

PART III

The Congregational Village (Gemein-Ort)

In the year 1758, on the 5th. of May, the Elders' Conference in Bethlehem first considered the matter of selecting a suitable place for the laying out of a Congregational Village in Salisbury. Such a village was to be closed to all but members of the congregation.

The object of the church authorities in creating a closed community of this nature was to protect the people belonging to the Brethren's Church from dangerous and hurtful worldly connections and their consequences, and to avert the necessity of their living either mingled with other people of different sentiments and practices, or on plantations too remote from our churches and congregational houses.[66]

In November of the same year, 1758, the location was chosen through the direction of the Saviour, by use of the lot, and accordingly was surveyed on December 23rd.

The first two houses were built in 1759 and the first was occupied on October 16.[67]

In the year 1761 the new village was named EMMAUS, by Bishop Spangenberg.

The following vivid description of this momentous occasion is found in the *Bethlehem Diary* for April 1 to 3, 1761:

Wednesday, April 1. Our dear Brother and Sister Spangenberg, accompanied by Brother Petrus (Boehler) and his wife, came to visit us. In the evening the people of our little village assembled in the Gemeinhaus (congregation house) and Brother Petrus delivered a deeply spir-

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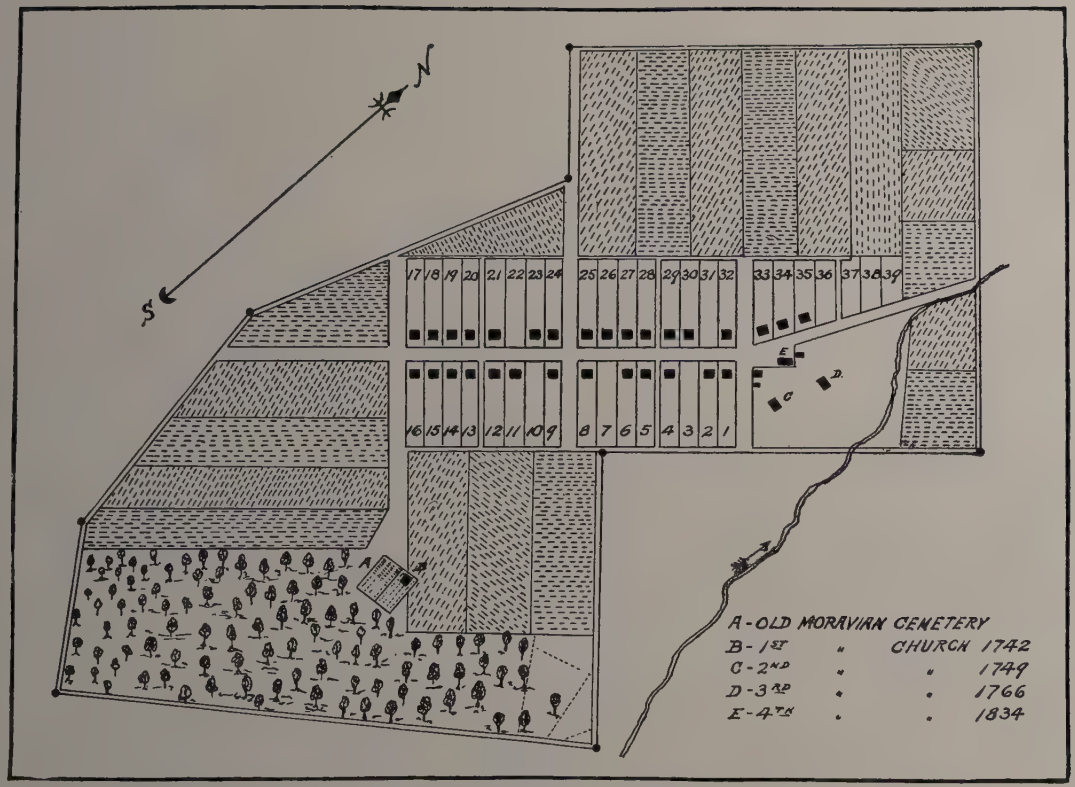
[66] "Proceedings" Lehigh Co. Hist. Soc. Vol. II. 1910. "The Emmaus Moravian Congregation" by the Rev. Allen Abel.

[67] Andreas Giering, *Personalia des sel. Br. Andreas Giering*, Emmaus Moravian Church Archives, Emmaus, Pennsylvania.



PLAN OF EMMAUS CLOSED COMMUNITY (Emmaus, Pa.) as laid out in 1758.

itual address on the children's text of the day and conducted a song service.

April 2. The Brethren Joseph (Spangenberg) and Petrus viewed the building site here and all connected therewith. At noon the congregation and the Society[68] assembled, together with the children. To begin with, Brother Joseph[69] addressed them, and then the whole assembly joined in a lovefeast service, in connection with which notification was given that this small village and congregation should have the name EMMAUS.

After this, Brother Petrus and his wife returned to Bethlehem, but Brother Joseph, first, directed blessed addresses to the children and the members of the Society, and at the close of the day he conducted a song service for the inhabitants of the little village.

April 3. Early in the morning the communicant brethren and sisters and those who had been received, assembled gradually, and Brother Joseph undertook the speaking with the brethren (that is, in preparation for the Holy Communion), while Sister Spangenberg conducted the same for the sisters. At noon, Brother Joseph addressed all the brethren and sisters on "The Character of one who is heartily a member of the Congregation," urging each member to make the "Head so full of bruises" to be his heart object, that he cling to Him as the branch to the vine, and that he draw strength and life-blood from Him alone for life and prosperity. Whoever does not do so, even though he should run along for a time and enjoy all the privileges of the congregation, would, in the end, fare as did the foolish virgins.

Then followed the lovefeast service, in connection with which Brother Joseph said, "Our Saviour asked Peter, 'Who say men that I am?' and thereafter Peter gave answer, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.' "

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[68] In the early years of this settlement, before the congregation was organized, a "Societat" or Society was formed to which belonged people of the various denominations.

[69] Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.

This, the writer of the diary says, furnished a beautiful preparation for the lovefeast.[70]

Immediately thereafter, with manifest effect on all, Brother Joseph named the village "EMMAUS" by reading a twenty-four stanza hymn which he had composed especially for this occasion. Of this hymn, which was originally written in German, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, President of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary,[71] made a literal English translation in 1938, and this in turn was given a metrical version in 1942 by Roy E. Iobst, a member of the Emmaus Congregation.[72]

The sixteenth stanza of the latter version reads thus:

> "Now here we build a village small;
> Toward its completion we give all;
> Here, too, our hearts within shall flame—
> Emmaus, then, shall be its name!"[73]

When the reading of the hymn was concluded those who were not communicant members were dismissed. The communicant brethren and sisters then enjoyed the sacred pedilavium and an unspeakably blessed communion service. In the meantime, Brother Fr. Post arrived from Bethabara (N. Carolina) and delivered letters and reports, that he had with him, to Brother Joseph.[74]

A very complete set of "Town Regulations" was prepared. It contained forty-five separate articles which were to control all phases of life in Emmaus. Any person who expected to live in the village had to sign these. The "Regulations" were officially adopted on July 7, 1761.

"It necessarily followed, therefore, that, strictly speaking, nobody can have leave to reside in this village but those

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[70] *Bethlehem Moravian Diary* for April 3, 1761. In the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

[71] "Naming of Emmaus" by the Rev. Charles J. Bornman, Emmaus, Pa. In the Emmaus Moravian Messenger, Vol. XXII, No. 2, May 1942.

[72] Ibid.

[73] The complete Hymn of 24 verses is appended.

[74] From a *Supplement to the Bethlehem Diary*, April 1761, translated from the German by Dr. W. N. Schwarze, Provincial Archivist of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa.

who belong to the Brethren's Church and such who earnestly desire to live a peaceful and quiet life in all godliness and honesty."

Some of the articles from the "REGULATIONS"[75] may here be given:

Section 6. Every inhabitant of Emmaus must, as is meet and right, not only conduct himself in all things agreeable to the Laws of the Province, for we will not be a disorderly people, but likewise must conform, without exception, to all the Congregation and Village Regulations, which, under the Directorium of the Unitas Fratrum, now are, or hereafter may be made.

Section 17. Nothing shall be taught or preached in Emmaus, but what is conformable to the Gospel of Christ. Has anyone an opinion, peculiar to himself, such a person may be indulged therein, provided he seek not to propagate it.

Section 20. No meetings, either public or private, shall be kept *without lights,* on any account whatsoever.

Section 23. No dancing-matches, tippling in taverns (except for necessary entertainment of strangers and travellers), no beer-tappings, feasting at weddings, christenings or burials, common sports and pastimes, gaming with dice, cards, etc., (nor the playing of the children in the streets), shall be so much as heard of amongst the inhabitants. They whose inclination is that way bent, cannot live in Emmaus.

Section 25. Should any person, by the all-wise Providence of God, be deprived of his senses, he shall, for God's sake, be mercifully treated and patiently borne with and be committed to the care of discreet persons to be attended and nursed by them, both as to soul and body, and if so be he is restored again, no mention shall be made of his former situation in any wise.

Section 32. Goods which are to be had in Emmaus, shall not without urgent necessity be bought elsewhere.

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[75] Preliminary Conditions or Town Regulations for Emmaus, 1761, Emmaus Moravian Church Archives, Emmaus, Pa.

Section 41. No marriage shall be contracted or made without the privity and approbation of the elders of the congregation and choirs; nor shall anyone attempt to promote or make secret matches. He that is minded to act otherwise, whether it be by himself alone, or in conjunction with others, forfeits his right of being an inhabitant of Emmaus.

Section 44. It is a good and necessary thing for every one to make his last will in due time. The committee can be consulted in that respect from time to time as occasion requires.

Under these conditions the village grew slowly but steadily. In the year 1765 it was decided to build a new hall adjoining the school-house; since both in the old church and also in the small hall in the school-house there began to be lack of space.

The first timber for this purpose was cut on October 14, and the following day the Brethren Frederick Rauschenberger and Ludwig Andreas began to fabricate the timber work.[76]

At the Gemein-fest on July 30, 1766, the new assembly room was used for the first time and consecrated. This was actually the third church building erected by the brethren of the community.

During the years 1778 and 1779 this little village was affected by the Revolutionary War. For it was in those years that the people of Pennsylvania were required to take an oath in order to achieve solidarity. This caused great consternation among the Moravian Brethren, since many of them had conscientious scruples against the taking of oaths.

On April 4, 1778, twelve of their number, because they refused to take the oath, were imprisoned at Easton and kept on bread and water until April 29, when they were released. In September, thirteen others, including their pastor, Brother Francis Boehler, had the same experience.[77]

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[76] Historical Sketch by Bro. Miller, 1797. Emmaus Moravian Diaries.

[77] Allentown Morning Call, Allentown, Pa. July 28, 1934, P. 14.

On the other hand, a little later, probably in 1780, a group of twelve Moravians from Emmaus enlisted for service in the Revolutionary War. No doubt they had been influenced by the treatment of some of their townsmen.

It was not generally known that some of the citizens of Emmaus fought in this war, for this fact was strangely missing from the early historical accounts. But recognition of this service was more recently given when the Daughters of the American Revolution placed appropriate markers on the graves of these soldiers buried in the Old Moravian Cemetery in Emmaus.

When the congregation was 50 years old, in 1797, it consisted of fifty-eight communicants; 36 Society members; 52 children; total 146. Besides the congregation house, the village had 13 family dwellings.

In the year 1834 the Emmaus congregation built their fourth church. This time they built of stone, and that building, enlarged and completely renovated in 1926-27, still forms a part of the present church-plant.

The Congregational Village, in which only Moravian Brethren were permitted to live, continued for over seventy-five years. But as the population of the country grew it became increasingly difficult, especially during the years of 1833-35, to de-bar non-Moravians from the village. Still several years more elapsed before the town was formally thrown open to settlers.

Thereafter people belonging to other denominations began to enter. The Evangelical church started preaching service there in 1839; organized a congregation in 1845; and erected their first church.

In 1870 the Free Methodists came, organized and built a church.

The Lutheran and Reformed groups started as a "Union" congregation in Emmaus in 1875. Not having a building of their own, they were permitted to use the Moravian Church, alternating with Lutheran and Reformed services on Sunday afternoons. This arrangement continued for seven years, when these two bodies jointly erected a church in

1882. In 1924, the Lutheran and Reformed congregations erected separate church buildings.

In 1884 the Mennonite Brethren in Christ congregation purchased the building erected earlier by the Free Methodists.

The United Evangelical church constructed a building in 1894, and in 1929 the Roman Catholics erected a church building.

St. Margaret's Episcopal Chapel was started in Emmaus in 1908, and their building was erected in 1939.

EMMAUS HYMN

Original German Text, by Bishop Spangenberg, Emmaus, 1761
Literal English Translation by Dr. W. N. Schwarze, Bethlehem, 1938

Poetical Version below, by Roy E. Iobst, Emmaus, 1942

1

When Christ had risen from the dead,
The path of two disciples led
Toward distant village for abode—
They took the old Emmaus road.

2

As curious happ'nings they reviewed,
A Stranger broke their solitude,
Saying, "May I indeed inquire
What things these are ye say transpire?—

3

"Your troubled looks bespeak some woe!"
"Art Thou just come, and dost not know?
Hast Thou not heard it from the mass,
The things which now have come to pass?—

4

"What mean we, Sir?—The tragic news
Of Him they call'd King of the Jews,
Of Jesus, who in word and deed,
Was God's great gift to human need.

5

"We trusted that it would be He
Who should set Israel's people free—
Messiah great, no kin to thief!
But now our hearts are filled with grief.

6

"Our rulers weak have Heav'n defied,
Condemmed Him to be crucified;
In Pilate's hall He heard His doom—
'Tis three days since they sealed His tomb!

7

"But now we are astonish'd more
That women, known to us before,
Who early sought His tomb (in vain)
Heard angels sing "He lives again!"—

8

"Then certain of our comrades went;
To prove these things was their intent.
The sepulchre no more was sealed:
The Christ had ris'n! His wounds were healed!"

9

Then spake He thus, "O fools, how prone
To disbelieve what has been shown;
Have not the prophets long ago
Revealed that Christ must suffer so?

10

"From Moses ye have heard it told
How God His plan must thus unfold;
From prophets old ye could have learned
That thus the Christ should be discerned.

11

"That through His suffering came His joy
In giving life none can destroy.
However, here's Emmaus now,
I must go on, if you'll allow."

12

"Kind Sir, will you not please consent
To come with us—the day's far spent,
The evening shadows steal this way."
"If so it pleaseth you, I'll stay."

13

As they partook of daily bread,
His words their hungered spirits fed;
He took the bread, and blessing spake,
And, breaking it, had them partake.

14

Their eyes were opened—Christ was here!
Forthwith they saw Him disappear.
"Did not our hearts burn as He taught
Of many truths for which we sought?"

15

They rose up then that very hour,
Proclaimed to all this mighty Pow'r.
Today our hearts and souls rejoice
That old Emmaus heard His voice.

16

Now here we build a village small;
Toward its completion we give all;
Here, too, our hearts within shall flame—
Emmaus, then, shall be its name!

17

Here grant us too Thy Presence dear,
As though Thou wast in body here;
While we enjoy Thy gifts of love,
Lord, bless us richly from above.

18

Fore'er Thy presence, Lord, assure,
Who art the Saviour of the poor;
May Thy pure Word and Sacrament
Our Christian brotherhood cement.

19

Though we may be of humble heart,
Make us of Thy great Church a part,
And if by enemies beset,
Be Thou our peaceful Ruler yet.

20

Besprinkle now Thy blood anew,
And give the timid courage true,
That in Thy love we now may build;
With faith in Thee may we be filled.

21

Show Thy heart's joy to little ones:
Arouse our daughters and our sons;
Prepare those of unmarried state
Their lives for Thee to consecrate.

22

May all those join'd by marriage vow
Thy blood-bought grace experience now;
May choirs of boys and girls seek truth—
For their example, Thine own youth.

23

Be Thou the widow's guiding Hand,
Cause her Thy ways to understand;
Direct the widower aright,
And with Thy will his will unite.

24

Now, Lord, we close our hymn to Thee;
Though shamed by blood-stained Calvary,
We pray that, as to Thee we cleave,
Such as we are Thou wilt receive.

MORAVIAN CHURCH AT EMMAUS, ERECTED IN 1834.
CHAPEL, ERECTED IN 1876.

PART IV

Some Recent Developments and Items of General Interest

Buildings

A comparison of the costs of church buildings is interesting. The first two buildings constructed here in 1742 and 1749 were built entirely by donations. The one erected in 1766 was also built by voluntary contributions, except about 100 pounds in American currency was in cash. The fourth structure was built in 1834 at an expense of $4,000 cash. A Sunday school chapel was built in 1876 at a cost of $2,600.

In 1926 the Emmaus congregation decided to enlarge and beautify the stone church which had been erected in 1834. When the 179th. anniversary of the congregation was being celebrated in that year, on July 25, farewell was said to the Old Church. The next day the old pews and other furnishings were removed. Old organ pipes were carried off as mementos.

Ground breaking exercises were held on August 1. The first spades full of ground were uplifted by Mrs. Mary Knauss and Mrs. Ursilla Keck, long time members of the congregation.

The Corner Stone was laid on November 14, 1926. One day less one year later, on November 13, 1927, the renovations which united church and chapel were completed, and the present beautiful edifice was re-dedicated.

It had been estimated at the beginning of this building project that the cost would be somewhat over $60,000. When the renovations were finished and all the new equipment had been installed the total cost came to approximately $78,000. To date $63,000 have been paid toward the rebuilding costs, plus $25,000 in interest, or a total of $88,500.00 paid during the last twenty years.

INTERIOR OF PRESENT MORAVIAN CHURCH, EMMAUS, PA.

Growth

The once closed community grew slowly over a long period of time. However, in recent years Emmaus has increased in size and has become the largest Borough in Lehigh County with a population of over 7000.

The congregation which began with forty-four communicant members like-wise grew slowly during the early years. When the fiftieth anniversary of the congregation's organization was observed there were but fifty-eight communicant members. At the age of one-hundred-fifty years the congregation consisted of only two hundred members. A more rapid growth in the very recent years enables the congregation to celebrate its Bicentennial with a communicant membership of over five hundred.

Service

The influence of this congregation has been and is being felt far beyond the bounds of what was once a little village. Sons and daughters of the congregation have carried the Christian spirit and faith with them into all walks of life.

Eleven sons and ten daughters of this congregation have heard the call of God to Christian service as ministers or missionaries, and as wives of these ordained brethren.

The names of these Christian workers are:

The Reverend and Mrs. M. E. Kemper
The Reverend and Mrs. Charles J. Bornman
The Reverend and Mrs. Robert K. Stansfield
The Reverend and Mrs. Edward H. Swavely
The Reverend and Mrs. Robert I. Giering
The Reverend and Mrs. Howard H. Stortz
The Reverend Augustus Martin
The Reverend Harry Iobst
The Reverend Robert A. Iobst
The Reverend Mervin C. Weidner
The Reverend and Mrs. Henry A. Kuehl, Jr.
Mrs. Florence Iobst Ruth
Mrs. Letetia Walter Bergstresser
Mrs. Grace Martin Brandauer

Pastors

A table of the succession of all pastors in this congregation from the beginning of its organization to the present time is here presented.

1747 (1) Anton and Elizabeth Wagner
Johann and Rosina Muenster
Christoph and Maria Heyne
1750 (2) Johann W. and Rosina Michler
1751 (3) Christoph and Susanna Prylaeus
Andreas and Dorothea Horn
1752 (4) Johann Christoph and Christine Franke
1753 (5) Daniel and Hannah Neubert

1755 (6) Georg and Gertraut Schneider
1756 (7) Johann Christian Gottfried and Anna Maria Engel
1757 (8) Johannes and Anna Magdalena Schweishaupt
1760 (9) Daniel and Hannah Neubert (2nd time)
1762 (10) George and Maria Elizabeth Pitschmann
1763 (11) Anton and Elizabeth Wagner (2nd time)
1766 (12) Heinrich and Elizabeth Lindenmeyer
1773 (13) Andreas and Maria Elizabeth Langgaard
1777 (14) Heinrich and Elizabeth Lindenmeyer (2nd time)
(15) Ad interim Franz and Anna Catharina Boehler
1779 (16) Johann Jacob and Anna Regina Schwihel
1785 (17) Nicolaus Lorenz and Anna Benigna Bagen
1786 (18) Johann and Maria Agnes Roth
1790 (19) Johann Martin and Anna Johanna Beck
1791 (20) Bernhard Adam and Sarah Grube
1793 (21) Georg Gottfried and Anna Johanna Miller
1798 (22) Ludwig Friedrich and Maria Christina Boehler
1801 (23) Johannes and Anna Barbara Bardill
1802 (24) Johannes and Susanna Salome Molther
1805 (25) Johannes and Anna Barbara Bardill (2nd time)
1807 (26) Gottfried Sebastian and Anna Catharina Oppelt
1809 (27) Theodore and Susanna Catharina Schulz
1813 (28) Paul and Anna Weiss
1830 (29) Johannes and Sophia Brickenstein
1836 (30) Peter and Elizabeth Kluge
1838 (31) G. F. and Elizabeth Troeger
1839 (32) Levin T. and Louisa C. Reichel
1844 (33) Julius and Emma Bechler
1846 (34) Ambrose and Matilda Rondthaler
1853 (35) John J. and Cornelia Regennas
1860 (36) Edward and Anne L. Kluge
1862 (37) Lorenz F. Oerter
1864 (38) Henry C. and Mary Ann Bachman
1868 (39) Julius E. and H. Maria Wuensche
1876 (40) William H. and F. Dorothea Hoch
1877 (41) Maximilian Eugene and Martha Grunert

1879 (42) Clement L. and Caroline Reinke
1882 (43) Lewis P. and Sarah M. Clewell
1889 (44) Phillip F. and Catherine Rommel
1898 (45) William F. Bade
1898 (46) Samuel H. and Rosina Vogt Gapp
1905 (47) Allen E. and Emily Mack Abel
1911 (48) Robert H. and Fannie Ware Brennecke, Jr.
1915 (49) C. J. Richard and Agnes Cruickshank Meinert
1922 (50) Paul T. and Emma Pfautz Shultz
1932 (51) Henry A. and Della V. Preisch Kuehl

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 10, 1946

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1946, at 11.15 A.M., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding.

Eleven members were present.

Reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held October 11, 1945, which had been previously approved by the Executive Committee, was by common consent dispensed with. The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual statement. The following is an abstract:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1945	$2,489.77
Receipts	1,595.55
	$4,085.32
Disbursements	2,010.27
Cash on hand, October 1, 1946	$2,075.05

On motion, the report properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed.

Dr. K. G. Hamilton, upon request, gave an account of the old school and cemetery property at Oley, Berks County, Pa. The property consisting of approximately two acres was offered for sale for $2000.00. The Committee visited the premises and found that the repairs to the school building would amount to $8000.00. They felt that the only procedure would be to form a Committee for the collection of funds for the purchase and repairs. An effort should also be made to induce the State Historical Commission

to accept the property for development and permanent preservation; this requires approval by the State Legislature. The various committees had no report to submit at this meeting.

The secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.: Life Membership, Dr. Daniel S. Grosch. Active Membership, Henry A. Shimer, Mrs. Mary Weinland, Miss Anastasia Bahnson, Mrs. Hattie I. Bergstresser, George D. Bergstresser, William T. Miller, Dr. Francis F. Meilicke, Mrs. Donald McCall, Charles E. Moyer, Judson G. Smull, Jr., Jacob Schlegel, Mrs. Hazel M. Schlegel, Rev. Edward H. Swavely, John H. Johansen. Associate Membership, C. W. Jones, Dr. Arthur D. Graeff, Mrs. Minnie H. Cooley.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. K. G. Hamilton, Ph.D., Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry, Mr. John E. Leibfried, Mr. Robert J. Desh and Mr. William E. Henry.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M., Mr. Andrew G. Kern, Mr. George W. Hahn, The Rev. Samuel C. Zeller, A.M., The Rev. Robert I. Giering.

The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp who had served as American representative at the Unity Elders' Conference in Europe and had assisted at the consecration services of the first bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church in Czechoslovakia, The Rt. Rev. Vaclav Vancura, presented a large pen sketch of The Rt. Rev. Vancura to the Society. It was gratefully accepted by the President.

The business meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the morning session to the several classifications of membership to which they had been nominated and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the Moravian Church, at 1.15 P.M., with about one hundred and sixty members and guests present. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper Meeting with several chorale selections. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, viz., Mr. Alan C. Dodson, Mrs. George F. Bahnson, Mr. William H. Milchsack. In their memory the customary memorial hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

After a few words of welcome to the assembled members and guests, the President presented the Rev. H. A. Kuehl, pastor of the Moravian congregation in Emmaus, Pa., who presented parts of a paper entitled "The Beginnings and Development of the Moravian Settlement of Emmaus, Pennsylvania." He gave the names of the charter members of the congregation and described various difficult circumstances that arose in the development of the congregation and the school, the latter started in 1746. The congregation has erected four churches since its inception, the first three of logs. The village was established by The Rt. Rev. A. G. Spangenberg in 1761. In addition the author submitted other interesting details. The paper has appeared in full in Vol. XIV, parts I and II.

The Rev. R. H. Brennecke reported the long illness of our esteemed Librarian, the Rev. G. M. Shultz, and his inability to be present. The President stated that the Society appreciated the Library work accomplished by The Rev. Edward H. Swavely and the Rev. R. H. Brennecke during the Librarian's absence, and recommended that the Executive Committee make the temporary appointment of the Rev. Edward H. Swavely as acting Librarian.

The Secretary read the names of those persons who had joined the Society during the past year, and reported that the membership of the Society, including all classifications, now totals 402.

The President introduced Dr. Arthur D. Graeff who joined the Society today and who responded with appropriate remarks.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the eighty-ninth annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

MRS. GEORGE F. BAHNSON

was born February 5, 1862, in Neudietendorf, Germany. She died in Nazareth, Pa., September 18, 1946. She joined the Society in 1887.

WILLIAM H. MILCHSACK

was born March 28, 1860, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died March 13, 1946, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1889 and for many years served as one of its vice-presidents.

ALAN C. DODSON

was born August 27, 1880, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died August 23, 1946, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1918.

ANNUAL MEETING
of the
Moravian Historical Society
October 9, 1947

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum, at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 9, 1947, at 11.15 A.M., the president, Dr. W. N. Schwarze, presiding. Eighteen members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society having been approved by the Executive Committee, their reading was dispensed with by common consent. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held August 28, 1947, were read and approved as read.

The treasurer presented his annual statement, of which the following is an abstract:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1946	$2,075.05
Receipts	2,145.55
	$4,220.60
Disbursements	2,522.79
Cash on hand, October 1, 1947	$1,697.81

The report was properly audited, and on motion it was approved and ordered filed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Publication—Dr. Schwarze stated that the last publication of our *Transactions* had been very favorably received and that additional copies had been printed of those portions relating to the Emmaus and Bethlehem churches, also that articles will appear in the near future on the Lititz congregation and on Nicaragua.

Library—The Rev. E. H. Swavely reported that a number of valuable gifts had been received by the Museum and the Library,

and that a large number of visitors were taken through the Museum.

The secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.,

For Life Membership, Mrs. Ruth Becker Myers, Mrs. Leon F. Smith (the latter transferred from Associate membership).

For Active Membership, Mrs. Miriam M. Huth, Mrs. Franklin Kostenbader, Mr. Franklin Kostenbader, The Rev. Walser H. Allen, Mrs. W. T. Miller, Mrs. J. G. Smull, Jr., Mr. Clyde T. Bischoff.

The election for officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Professor Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., Mr. Archibald Johnston, M.E., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Publication Committee, The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., The Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D., Mr. Henry B. Rau.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry, Mr. John E. Leibfried, Mr. Robert J. Desh, Mr. William E. Henry.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Robert F. Ziegler, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., Mr. George W. Hahn.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. Samuel Zeller, A.M., Mr. Andrew G. Kern, Mr. George W. Hahn, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Adjournment.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the adjournment of the business meeting, and elected the nominees of the morning session to the several classifications of membership to which they had been nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

About one hundred and eighty members and guests of the Society assembled for the afternoon session in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church, at 1.15 P.M. The trombone choir of the Nazareth Moravian Church announced the annual Vesper Meeting with several chorale selections from the Church yard. After the vesper meal, the president announced the names of those members of the Society who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, as follows: Mrs. Clara Knapp, Mrs. H. C. Pohl, Mrs. Calvin Smith, The Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M. In their memory a memorial hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

After a few words of greeting and welcome to the assembled members and guests and after drawing attention to the fact that the Nazareth, Lebanon and Lititz congregations are celebrating their Bi-centennial this year or soon after, the president introduced Professor Richmond E. Myers of Muhlenberg College who read a paper entitled "Moravian Mission Work on the Susquehanna." He stressed the fact that our missionaries faced many dangers, bravely carrying on their work and living the life they preached, which greatly appealed to the Indians. They also learned their language and made many friends.

The secretary read the names of those persons who had joined the Society during the past year, and also stated that the membership of the Society was 412, including all classifications.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the ninetieth annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

Mrs. Clara Knapp

was born September 5, 1854, in Nazareth, Pa. She died September 25, 1947, in Bethlehem, Pa. She joined the Society in 1893.

Mrs. H. C. (Giering) Pohl

was born October 10, 1870, in Catasauqua, Pa. She died in Nazareth, Pa., May 22, 1947. She joined the Society in 1906.

Mrs. Calvin M. (Martin) Smith

was born in Nazareth, Pa., August 15, 1871. She died in Nazareth, Pa., October 15, 1946. She joined the Society in 1944.

Rev. G. M. Shultz, A.M.

was born in Lancaster County, Pa., March 3, 1864. He died in Nazareth, Pa., November 14, 1946. He was Curator and Librarian of the Society since 1925, having joined the Society the same year.

ANNUAL MEETING
of the
Moravian Historical Society

October 14, 1948

The business meeting of the Society was held at 11:15 A.M. in the museum, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp presiding. Thirteen members were present. The minutes of the annual meeting held October 9, 1947 were read and approved as read. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held August 31, 1948 were also read and approved as read.

The treasurer submitted his annual report of which the following is an abstract:

Cash on hand, October 1, 1947	$1,697.81
Receipts	1,176.81
	$2,874.62
Disbursements	407.36
Cash on hand, October 1, 1948	$2,467.26

The report having been properly audited, was accepted and ordered filed.

Bishop Gapp and other members present reported the deplorable condition of the cemetery at Hope, N. J. It was unanimously agreed that the cemetery should have our attention. It was revealed again that according to the original deed granting other land adjacent to the cemetery the recipients were to care for the Moravian section free of charge. Upon proper motion it was resolved to secure a copy of the deed for study, and, if the people at Hope, N. J., are responsible for its care, to bring this fact to their attention.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Publication—It was reported that the history of the Beck School and of the Lititz Congregation would appear in the next issue of our *Transactions.*

Library—The Rev. Edward H. Swavely reported that a number of accessions has been received both for the Library and Museum, and that about 350 guests had visited the Museum during the year.

NEW BUSINESS

A request having been received during the year by a life member of the Society to transfer his membership to a relative, it was determined that the By-Laws would not permit such transfer and that Life Membership is granted to the applicant for the period of his or her lifetime. On motion it was voted that all Life Memberships shall become effective upon the full payment of the designated fee.

The Librarian, The Rev. E. H. Swavely, advised that Mrs. G. M. Shultz has a number of books which she desired to sell to the Society. It was agreed to have the Library Committee examine the books and advise the Executive Committee for further action.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership, viz.:

For Active Membership, The Rev. Edwin W. Kortz, Mrs. Edwin W. Kortz, Mr. George L. Gray, Mrs. George L. Gray, Mr. Carl B. Spogen, Mr. Warren C. Clewell, Mr. F. Harlan Wilhelm, Mrs. George Rathbun, Mrs. George Billiard.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice-Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Prof. Herbert H. Beck, Sc.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., LH.D., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Secretary, Mr. William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Treasurer, Mr. James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Mr. Henry B. Rau, The Rev. R. H. Brennecke.

Board of Managers, Mr. James S. Fry, Mr. John E. Leibfried, Mr. Robert J. Desh, Mr. William E. Henry.

Library Committee, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. Samuel C. Zeller, Th.D., Mr. Andrew G. Kern, Mr. George W. Hahn, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Graveyard Committee, Mr. Robert F. Ziegler, Mr. J. Frederick Knecht, Mr. George W. Hahn.

Mr. Kenneth A. Felker inquired whether the Society was interested in publishing his translations of the records of the births and deaths of the Lancaster, Pa., congregation from 1744-1872. Upon motion this was referred to the Publication Committee for consideration and action.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the morning session to the several classifications of membership to which they had been nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church at 1.15 P.M. The trombone choir of the Church announced the annual Vesper Meeting by playing several chorale selections on the lawn of the Church. Approximately one hundred and seventy-five members and guests were present. After the Vesper meal, the President announced the names of those members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, namely: The Rev. W. N. Schwarze, Prof. Ernest F. Detterer, Mr. Archibald Johnston, Mr. Oakleigh Thorne, Mr. L. MacLean Wilson, Mrs. George Bischoff, Mr. O. P. Knauss, Mr. Frank H. Martin, Mrs. Hazel Schlegel, Prof. T. Edgar Shields. In their memory the customary memorial hymn was sung, the member and guests standing. The President also mentioned that the Executive Committee at their meeting on Thursday, April 15, 1948, ordered the following Resolution of

Respect spread on their minutes, a copy to be sent to Mrs. Schwarze and a special memorial tribute to be paid to Dr. Schwarze before the singing of the hymn in memory of the departed, at the annual meeting of the Society.

IN MEMORIAM

It pleased the Lord, quite unexpectedly to call to his eternal reward our Brother William N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D., the honored president of our Historical Society on Sunday morning, March 14, 1948. The Directors bowing humbly to the will of God with the words:

"Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan
Es bleibt gerecht sein Wille",

yet with sorrow express their sense of great loss in his departure. Brother Schwarze has been president of our Society since 1912—thirty-six years. His qualifications for this office were unsurpassed, in native endowments of mind, in rich and varied personal experience in historical research, teaching and authorship, and in unstinted devotion to his tasks. As professor of Moravian history at our College and Seminary, as Archivist of our Northern Province since 1906, as author of books on Moravian history and as translator of numerous pamphlets from the rich manuscript legacy from our forefathers, he rendered a service to our Church and to the public which will be appreciated more and more with the passing years. In addition, he exercised a rare gift of inspiring others for research in the original annals of our Church; many important theses and brochures on Moravian subjects as well as some very valuable books, are the result of his suggestion, and his constant and intelligent encouragement. Nor will we ever forget the grace, good humor and tact with which he presided at the annual meetings of the Society. Brother Schwarze will long be missed by the officers and the members of our Society—but as we recall his eager devotion to this particular activity, we quote with considerable emotion the words of Montgomery:

"Servant of God, well done
Rest from thy loved employ."

After a few words of greeting and welcome to the members and guests, the President introduced the speaker, Miss Mary A. Huebener, Lititz, Pennsylvania, who read an interesting paper entitled "Bi-centennial History of the Lititz, Pennsylvania, Moravian Congregation." She gave a very interesting account of the Lititz congregation from its origin to the Revolutionary period, dividing her subject into five parts—the Warwick County congregation, the founding of Lititz, the Settlement, the Schools, and the Revolutionary period. In addition she mentioned outstanding weddings, baptisms, funerals as well as school events.

The President called upon Mr. Robert T. Henry, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, a member of our Society, who gave an account of the original Moravian Church near Swedesboro, New Jersey. It was abandoned and title was transferred to the Protestant Episcopal Church by Bishop Van Vleck October 15, 1836. This church in turn recently transferred the title to the Gloucester County Historical Society which is making repairs and will preserve the property as an historical landmark.

After the singing of an appropriate hymn stanza, the ninety-first annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

Rev. William N. Schwarze, Ph.D., D.D.
was born January 2, 1875, in Chaska, Minn. He died March 14, 1948, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1903.

Ernest F. Detterer
was born January 3, 1888, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died November 9, 1947, in Chicago, Ill. He joined the Society in 1910.

Archibald Johnston
was born May 30, 1864, in Phoenixville, Pa. He died February 1, 1948, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1892.

Oakleigh Thorne

Date and place of birth unknown. He died May 23, 1948, in Thorndale, Millbrook, N. Y. He joined the Society in 1926.

L. Maclean Wilson

was born June 21, 1884, in Scranton, Pa. He died July 13, 1947, in San Diego, Calif. He joined the Society in 1917.

Mrs. George F. Bischoff

was born December 2, 1901, in Catasauqua, Pa. She died September 4, 1948, in Bethlehem, Pa. She joined the Society in 1942.

Oscar P. Knauss

was born September 4, 1859, in Emmaus, Pa. He died November, 1946, in Macungie, Pa. He joined the Society in 1936.

Frank H. Martin

was born October 14, 1866, in Nazareth, Pa. He died April 9, 1948, in Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1888. He served as Secretary of the Society for a number of years.

Hazel Schlegel

was born February 28, 1909, in Pittston, Pa. She died November 10, 1947, in Nazareth, Pa. She joined the Society in 1946.

T. Edgar Shields

was born July 4, 1877, in Olney, Ill. He died July 4, 1948, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1936.

Bicentennial History of the Lititz Moravian Congregation

By Mary Augusta Huebener

CHAPTER I

The Warwick Country Congregation (1742-1754)

Sunday, February 9, 1749, was an important day for the little group of Moravian brethren and sisters in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. It marked the consummation of their hopes of forming a Moravian congregation of their own, with their own *Gemeinhaus,* now fully completed, and on that day consecrated to the worship of the Triune God.

The building was a combination parsonage, school, and meeting-house, such as was common in other Moravian communities of the day. It stood on a tract of three and three-fourths acres of land in the eastern part of the farm of John George Klein,[1] which he had donated for the purpose.[2]

The consecration of the *Gemeinhaus* took place on the occasion of a visit of the Brethren John de Watteville, Augustus Spang-

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[1] A native of Kirchart, Baden. He settled in Warwick Township about 1740; died at Bethlehem in July, 1783.—*Sketch of the Early History of Lititz;*—H. A. Brickenstein, p. 343.

[2] The *Gemeinhaus* was built on a bluff on the south bank of the stream known as "Carter's Creek," between the present N. Locust and Oak Sts., Lititz. The stream had been named for Richard Carter, one of the early settlers of what is now Warwick Township. The well-known "bottomless pit" near Millport, was on his land. He was a native of Warwickshire, England, and gave the township its name when it was set up in 1729, at the time Lancaster County was organized.—*Biographical History of Lancaster County*—Harris, p. 132; and *Authentic History of Lancaster County*—Mombert, p. 380.

enberg, Nathaniel Seidel, and others,[3] who also conducted a *Pedelavium,* or Foot-Washing,[4] and served Communion in connection with the "after-celebration" of the November 13th Festival, commemorating the recognition of Christ as the Head and Chief Elder of the Church.[5] This festival had been celebrated the fall before, in Bethlehem, for the first time in America.[6] It was at that celebration in Bethlehem, that George Klein, together with Leonard Bender, who had a farm along the Conestoga, had been admitted into the Moravian Church as communicant members. They were the first in the Colony of Pennsylvania, and, in fact, in America, to be received into the Church, for the members in Bethlehem and Nazareth were all emigrants from Europe.[7]

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[3] The facts of this History, unless otherwise specified, up to and including the year 1779, are derived from an *Historical Account of the Beginning and Progress of the "Bruder-Gemeinlein" in Warwick, and the afterwards there arisen "Bruder-Gemein-Ort" Litiz, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,* and a continuation of the same, found in Church Record Book II of the Lititz Congregation, and an additional volume devoted entirely to this historical account.

[4] Foot-Washing was adopted by the Moravians as a religious ceremony about the middle of the 18th Century, in imitation of Christ's action, and His injunction to His disciples, as recorded in the 13th chapter of St. John. As practiced by the Moravians, it was never a public ceremony in a mixed congregation. It was conducted by the various "Choirs," men and women separately, each group meeting by itself at a different hour. It was never a popular practice, and did not prove particularly edifying. By 1800, the practice began to wane. After that it was confined to the several Church Settlements, and held only on Maundy-Thursday. It was discontinued entirely by the General Synod of 1818.—*History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*—J. M. Levering, p. 169, Note 10.

[5] The realization, confirmed by the lot, that no human being should fill the position of Chief Elder, was experienced at a conference of Church leaders at Count Zinzendorf's apartments in London, on September 16th, 1741, and was announced to the Moravian congregations on November 13th of that year. *History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton, pp. 97 and 98.

[6] "*Historical Account of the Beginning and the Continuance of the Brethren's Congregation in and about Litiz in Warwick Township, Lancaster County in Pennsylvania,*" prepared for the Congregation Festival on August 13th, 1790. (Translation by W. N. Schwarze)

[7] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein, p. 346.

During the intervening months, Klein's wife, Anna, and six other couples from here, had been received at Heidelberg and Bethel, Lebanon County, where Moravian itinerant charges were located. On the consecration day a widow from this vicinity was received into the new congregation. In addition, twelve other Moravians living at Muddy Creek transferred their membership here, for a new decentralizing policy had been inaugurated at the last General Synod in Europe. Instead of so many small groups of believers being served by itinerants from Bethlehem, some of the smaller preaching places, such as Muddy Creek, were discontinued; and a series of new congregations, like the one in Warwick, were being started.[8]

These twenty-seven people, therefore, formed the nucleus of the new congregation.[9] During the remainder of 1749 and the next two years, twenty-seven more members were received; and by April 1st, 1755, when the first complete membership list was made up, there were sixty-one communicants.

The events leading up to the organization of this new congregation go back some six years, to a farewell visit, before his return to Europe, which Count Zinzendorf[10] made to some of the groups of German settlers in the eastern section of the colony of

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[8] *History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*—J. M. Levering, p. 225.

[9] *Lititz Moravian Church Register Book No. II*, Fol. 261, lists the following as the communicant members who partook of the first Communion in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*, held February 9th, 1749: From here—"George and Anna Klein; Henr. and Verona Rudy; Jacob and Apollon. Scherzer; Mich. and A. Mar. Eib; Georg and Chra. Marg. Kiesel; Nicolas and Barb. Kiesel; Fridrich and A. Mar. Kiesel; Barb. Stauffer (Widow)." From Muddy Creek—"Valentin and Christina Westhoefer; Michel and Barb. Rank; Eberhard Riem; Nicolas and Elisab. Riem; Abrah. and A. Mar. Riem; Georg and Eva Cath. Brandel; Judith Hirsch."

[10] Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf, in 1722, opened his estate in Saxony to persecuted Christian refugees from Moravia, some of whom were members of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum. In 1727, the Ancient Church was resuscitated under his leadership, in the town of Herrnhut, which these Moravians had built with his permission on his land. He became the leader and patron of the Church, and was largely instrumental in moulding its early life and activities.

Pennsylvania, amongst whom the itinerant Moravian preachers from Bethlehem had been laboring.

On December 2nd, 1742, he held a song and preaching service at the home of Jacob Huber, where he was lodging.[11] His audience consisted of a number of farmers from the vicinity, mostly German Lutherans, who had come to Warwick Township from the Palatinate about 1738.[12] They requested him to extend the ministrations of the Moravian itinerants to them also, as they were without the benefit of spiritual care from their own denomination. This Zinzendorf promised to do, and soon after, Jacob Lischy, a Swiss, came to labor in their midst. He was very successful for a time, and won a number of converts; but he later was estranged from and, in 1747, became an open enemy of the Brethren. A number of other itinerant preachers labored here during the next few years.

The group of farmers who attended the memorable meeting in Jacob Huber's house at which Count Zinzendorf preached, would have been larger, had not John George Klein, Huber's nearest neighbor to the south, not only absented himself, but used his influence to dissuade others from attending.[13] Klein was a Lutheran. He had, doubtless, heard of Zinzendorf's attempt to unite all Christians in a "Congregation of God in the Spirit," through the Union Synods that he instituted in Pennsylvania. In common with many others, he probably misunderstood Zinzendorf's efforts as an attempt at proselyting, which was, actually, the very opposite of what he was trying to accomplish. Klein, therefore,

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[11] This house is still standing, about a mile north of the present Borourgh of Lititz, along what was then known as the "Newport Road." This road formed a connecting link between the iron furnace at Mt. Hope and the shipping point of Newport on the Delaware River, a distance of sixty-three miles. It was a convenient artery of travel and commerce between some of the points in this section.—*Pioneers and Transportation on Newport Road*—Henry H. Bomberger. A publication of the Lancaster County Historical Society, Vol. XXXVI, p. 101.—The Huber House is marked by a tablet erected by the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1936.

[12] *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Pa.*—Francis P. Hart. Published 1887—p. 1.

[13] *Authentic History of Lancaster County*—J. I. Mombert—p. 380.

refused to give Zinzendorf a hearing; but his conscience was ill at ease, and he spent a sleepless night. The next day he followed the Count to Lancaster, heard him preach in the Court House, and was completely won over to the cause for which Zinzendorf was laboring, a fact that had lasting results for the Warwick community.

The following summer, 1743, the Rev. Laurence Nyberg arrived in Lancaster from Sweden to serve as pastor of the Lutheran Church there. While he was sent to America for the express purpose of counteracting the influence of Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Synods, it soon became apparent that he favored the idea of the "Congregation of God in the Spirit." He preached a number of times in Warwick; and in 1744, to further the cause, Klein gave land in the southwestern part of his farm for the erection of a log church, which was to be known, not as a Lutheran or a Moravian, but as a "free" or union church, under the plan of the Synods. The church was dedicated by Nyberg on July 25th of that year, the Festival of St. James, and was, therefore, known as the "St. James Church."[14] Here Nyberg preached regularly once a month for the next two years; and he opened its pulpit to the itinerant Moravian preachers on their visits in this neighborhood.

In 1745 a Union Synod was held in the Court House at Lancaster; at which time a request was made by a number of awakened people in Warwick Township for a pastor to live in their midst. This request was granted the same year in the person of Daniel Neubert (or Neibert), from Philadelphia, who, with his wife, took up his abode in the home of one or another of the farmers. Neubert's work was entirely pastoral, for he was not ordained as a Deacon of the Moravian Church until nine years later. Nyberg continued to preach in the St. James Church, while Neubert visited from house to house, and held week day meetings. The year after his arrival, one of the farmers, Jacob Scherzer, built a small room especially for his use, into which he moved, and in which the meetings were held.

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[14] It stood on a plot now known as "The Old Graveyard," at the corner of Pine Alley and the western extension of Center Street, between Broad and Spruce Streets, Lititz.

In that same year, 1746, the Rev. Mr. Nyberg was suspended from his ministry in his church at Lancaster. His espousal of the cause of unity among all Christians in the Colony, which Zinzendorf was endeavoring to establish, had caused a split in his congregation. After that he preached every week in the St. James Church in Warwick Township.

In September, 1746, those who had the best interests of the community at heart met at the home of George Klein[15] to consider the advisability of building a *Gemeinhaus,* which would furnish a more satisfactory home for their pastor, besides providing facilities for a school. The building would also be used for the week day meetings for which the little room in Farmer Scherzer's house was becoming inadequate. The St. James Church would continue to be used for Sunday services.

The outcome of the meeting was a decision to build. Each one present promised to contribute his share in labor, materials and money; and immediate steps were taken to get the building under way. The cellar was dug in November; on March 29th of the following year the corner stone was laid by Nyberg and Neubert; and by the spring of 1748 the *Gemeinhaus* was ready for occupancy.

In the meantime, Pastor Neubert had been called to Heidelberg; and the Rev. Mr. Nyberg was planning to leave the community for Bethlehem, where he became a member of the Moravian Church on August 13th (1748). Accordingly, the Christian people of this vicinity applied for a Moravian pastor, who would also "serve them with the Word and the sacraments." In accordance with their request, the Rev. Leonard Schnell was sent as successor to Mr. Neubert. He was the first occupant of the new *Gemeinhaus.* He moved in on May 24th, 1748, and immediately opened a school with four boys and three girls. The girls were taught by his wife. On June 28th, the Rev. Reinhold Ronner and wife arrived as assistants in the school and in pastoral work, for

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[15] Those present at the meeting were: Lorenz Hoff, John George, Nicholas and Fridrich Kiesel, Hartman Vertries, Michael Eib, Jacob Scherzer, Jacob Heil, John Bender, Sr., Christian Palmer, and Jacob Scheffler; besides Klein himself, their Pastor, Daniel Neubert, and the Rev. Messrs. Nyberg and Rauch.

Schnell was charged with preaching and visiting at Muddy Creek, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Tulpehocken, Quittepehille (Lebanon), and "beyond the Susquehanna."

On August 11th, 1748, six months before the organization of the congregation, the first lovefeast was held in the *Gemeinhaus,* with Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, from Bethlehem in charge. It commemorated the rebirth of the Brethren's Church, twenty-one years before, on August 13th, 1727, when a signal out-pouring of the Holy Spirit on the congregation at Berthelsdorf (Saxony) transformed a group of bickering members into a band of Christians on fire with zeal for the spread of the Gospel, and sent them forth as missionaries to distant lands.

This important event in the history of the Brethren's (Moravian) Church, was celebrated in this congregation only intermittently for the next sixteen years, and it was not until 1764 that the "Thirteenth of August Festival" became an annual event.

Leonard Schnell was ordained a Deacon of the Brethren's Church on October 27th, in Bethlehem,[16] and thus became the first ordained Moravian minister with headquarters in Warwick.[17]

The ministrations of Schnell and his Moravian predecessors evidently were very favorably received, for during that fall and winter, as already related, one after another of the farmers in the vicinity cast in their lot with the Brethren, and were received as communicant members of the Moravian Church. The stage was thus set for the organization of the new congregation in Warwick Township, which was known as the Warwick *Landgemeine,* or Country Congregation, organized, as previously noted, on February 9th, 1749. Its members lived on the neighboring farms, and there was no thought of starting a village here until some years later.[18]

In August of the same year, Schnell was succeeded as Pastor by Christian Henry Rauch. The itinerants, Samuel Utley and Abraham Reinke, also visited and preached in Warwick during

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[16] *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Pa.*—Hart—p. 57.

[17] *Historical Account, etc.* (1790) #3

[18] The Settlement of Lititz was begun in 1756.

the year; and from November 20th to 23rd a Provincial Synod was held in the new *Gemeinhaus*. The following year, 1750, the building witnessed the baptism of the first child—Henry Gottlob, infant son of Henry and Verona Rudy.

In 1751 the *Gemeinhaus* was the scene of the first wedding in the congregation, when Peter Ricksecker, a widower from Donegal, was married to the widow, Barbara Bort. In the early days there must have been some complicated relationships; and this marriage is a fair example of the reason. Peter Ricksecker was married four times, each time to a widow. This was his second wedding; and his bride had been married twice before. She had three children and he had three children; and their union was blessed by six more.

Again and again the records tell of second and third marriages, in many instances the spouse being a widow or widower (bona fide, however—never grass). It is not difficult to understand this, for the hardships of pioneer living took men and women in the prime of life, and left broken homes—often mothers with small children and no means of support; or fathers with no one to look after the home. Remarriage was practically the only solution, under these conditions.

Infant mortality in these early days was also very great. In the first ten years after the organization of the congregation, more than two-thirds of the deaths recorded in the community were of children—most of them very young infants. Some lived only a few hours, or a few days, or a few months. Small-pox and other epidemics often raged unchecked in the neighborhood, taking a number of those who survived infancy, two and three children in the same family often falling victims. In one case, during an epidemic of fever and dysentery, one family lost four little ones within a week.

On November 7, 1753, the first one of the communicant members of the congregation, Michael Eib, a married brother, was laid to rest in the God's Acre of the St. James Church. Thirty interments had taken place there previously; but there had been no attempt to arrange the graves in any particular grouping.

Now, a beginning was made in dividing the graveyard into sections for the different "Choirs."[19]

In December, 1753, the congregation was favored by a visit from the eminent Bishop Peter Boehler, who organized a "Society" of about forty people. These "Society" members were not communicants, but people who desired to be under the spiritual care of the pastors and to join in the church services and thus become prepared for communicant membership in the congregation.

On October 7th, 1754, a Church Council composed of a few men, elected by and from amongst the male members of the congregation, was organized by Bishop Spangenberg. It was later known as the "Committee of Temporal Affairs," and was the forerunner of the *Aufseher Collegium,* which replaced it in 1770. The Council held frequent meetings and acted upon matters of the smallest detail.

CHAPTER II

The Founding of Lititz (1754-1759)

In April, 1754, Bishop Spangenberg returned from Europe, where, among other matters of business, he had consulted with Count Zinzendorf on the establishment of another "Settlement" in Pennsylvania. It would serve those church members in the colonies, and the growing number of emigrants from Europe, who desired closer spiritual supervision than could be afforded by the Country Congregations, but were not willing or fitted to live the rigorous life called for by the institutional arrangement at Bethlehem and Nazareth, where family life was foregone, and all labor pooled, for the sake of efficiency in the support of the large Pilgrim Band who went out from their number as missionaries and itinerant preachers.

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[19] The "Choir System" was a division of the congregation into different groups, such as "Married Brethren," "Married Sisters," "Single Brethren," "Single Sisters," etc. It was devised by Count Zinzendorf.

This new Settlement was to be similar to the ones in the Old Country, where all the inhabitants were members of the Moravian Church and under its supervision; where a "Brethren's" and a "Sisters' House" and sometimes a "Widows' House" were established, in which the members of these choirs might live, if they so desired, and maintain themselves, as well as their respective establishments, or "Economies," as they were called, by learning and prosecuting various trades. In addition, such Settlements, as organized units, themselves carried on a number of businesses —an inn, a general store, a mill, a smithy, etc. Outside of the businesses run by the Choir Houses and by the Settlement itself, the villagers, who lived in their own individual homes, were permitted to engage in such private enterprises as were sanctioned by the Settlement authorities.

An offer had been made to Spangenberg in 1753, and renewed upon his return from Europe in 1754, by John George Klein, to donate his entire farm of 491 acres,[1] on which the St. James Church and the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* had already been built, for the purpose of establishing a Settlement of this kind. Klein proposed to retire to Bethlehem with his wife and adopted daughter, and the only compensation he asked was an annuity of £70 during his lifetime, which should be paid by the Settlement to be established.

This proposition appeared to be promising and was approved by Count Zinzendorf. The legal transfer of the property was made on August 20, 1755 (*not 1754*, as erroneously stated in an early account of the beginnings of Lititz, and copied by later historians).[2]

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[1] Klein held three Proprietary patents, dated 1741, 1747 and 1755, for 511 acres in all. In 1752 he sold 20 acres, leaving 491 acres, which comprised the land he donated to the Church. Only a small part of the land was under cultivation; the rest was woods and brush.

[2] The land was deeded to Timothy Horsefield, as Administrator of property in America for the Brethren's Unity, for all property was owned by the Unity as a whole, and not by individual congregations. The Unity was not incorporated and could not hold title to land in its own name. Therefore, the various tracts were held in the name of an individual Administrator, and were deeded by each Administrator, in turn, to his successor in office.

In the spring of 1754, Klein had built a large two-story stone house on his farm for the use of the Settlement which he confidently hoped would be established there. At an Elders' Conference in this building on August 18th, 1755, Bishop Matthew Hehl, who had been appointed General Superintendent of the Country Congregations over a wide area, was also chosen by lot to have charge of the organization and guidance of the new Settlement to be established here. On November 9th he took up his residence in the new stone house, which from then on was called the *Pilgerhaus,* or "House of the Pilgrims."

In the early years of the Settlement, this house served as a residence, not only for Bishop Hehl, but for the local pastor and his assistant, and a lodging place for visiting ministerial brethren. Weekday meetings and conferences were also held in the building. When the village was laid out, it determined the direction of its main street (which does not run due east and west).

From June 10th to 16th, 1756, a conference was held in the *Pilgerhaus,* which was attended by Bishop Spangenberg and others from Bethlehem. The "Watchword"[3] for June 11th was: "I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put my name there forever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually."—I Kings 9:3. This was considered to be a message from the Lord designating that part of the Klein farm where this stone house stood as the place where the *Gemein-Ort* or Church Settlement should be built. The text, written in beautiful Gothic characters was put up, immediately after the conference, in the second story room where meetings were held, as a reminder of the signal leading of the Lord in establishing the Settlement.

On the 12th of June, 1756, a letter was received from Count Zinzendorf, giving the name "Lititz"[4] to the new Settlement

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[3] The "Watchword" is the Old Testament text from the Moravian Text Book, a little volume that has been published continuously every year since 1730. According to the latest available figures a total of 1,300,000 are printed each year—in fourteen European languages (including English) and thirteen missionary languages.

[4] This is the correct spelling in the Bohemian language, where the name originated. In German the second "t" is unnecessary for the pronunciation, and it was often dropped in writing. In the early diaries, etc., the two spellings are often used interchangeably—*Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein, p. 350, Note 14.

about to be established, in commemoration of the little village near the Castle of Lititz, on the Silesian-Bohemian border, where the early Moravian Brethren found a dwelling place, just three centuries before, in 1456, and where the Ancient *Unitas Fratrum*[5] came into being a year later. It was seven years after the organization of the Warwick Country Congregation, therefore, that the Settlement of Lititz was established.

The little group of Lititz brethren and sisters living in the *Pilgerhaus* closed the year 1756 by holding a Christmas Eve lovefeast,[6] to which a few of the Warwick "Society" members were invited, and a Watch Night service on New Year's Eve.

The first step towards establishing the proposed Settlement was to select a site for a saw- and grist-mill. These were both vitally needed—the saw-mill to prepare lumber for the other buildings, and the grist-mill to provide food. The plot finally decided upon was about a mile east of the proposed village. It was purchased in January, 1757, from John Bender. A small dwelling house and a saw-mill were already standing upon it; but the mill was poorly built, and not equipped to do good work. The plan was to use this saw-mill to cut timber for the grist-mill, and then tear it down, and replace it with a better one.

The work was done under the supervision of Hans Christensen, an eminently skillful millwright who had rendered similar service in Bethlehem and elsewhere; and Claus Coeln, master builder, who later had charge of building operations for the other Settlement houses. The grist-mill was completed by November 11th, and on the 15th the "Lititz Family" had a lovefeast from the first flour made.

The new saw-mill was not completed and ready for use until April 20th of the next year. On that date, like the verdict of the

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[5] *Unitas Fratrum* meaning "Unity of the Brethren" is the official name of the Moravian Church.

[6] The first *children's* Christmas Eve service was held in 1759, and in 1765 candles were used for the first time. It is doubtful, however, whether this custom was continued annually from then on, for no mention of it is made for at least the next fifteen years, while the distribution of scripture texts to the children on "Second Christmas" (December 26th) is repeatedly mentioned.

Lord on the finished creation, the Church records state that the mill started operation, and *schnitt recht gut.*

In the meantime, a survey of the streets and lots for the new Settlement was begun on February 9th, 1757, by "Brother Nathaniel" (Bishop Seidel) and Christian Gottlieb Reuter, a surveyor who had recently arrived in this country from Europe.

Later in the year (on August 23rd and 24th, 1757) Brother Reuter and "Brother Joseph"[7] Spangenberg laid out the Church Square, the lots for the two prospective Choir Houses, and a new *Gemeinhaus.*

In October of the next year, Brother Reuter, on one of his frequent trips here from Bethlehem, brought with him six single brethren to form the nucleus of the Single Brethren's Economy which he formally organized on October 15th, 1758. For their headquarters they were given the house which, before the purchase of the mill site, had been moved from the "Big Spring" to the vicinity of the Warwick *Gemeinhaus.* It had been intended for the use of the workmen but was never occupied by them. This, with its dormitory on the second floor, just under the roof, was dedicated as the Single Brethren's Choir House, and was used as such for three years, until the new Choir House was ready for occupancy.

The brethren who formed the Economy seem to have been entirely distinct from the workmen on the Choir Houses, whose personnel kept changing from time to time. The latter were lodged in a house which had been fixed up for them near the farm buildings[8] occupied by Henry Haller, who was in charge of the congregation farm. This house had originally been the *barn* at the "Big Spring."

From these references to the house and barn at the "Big Spring," it appears that at some earlier time either George Klein or some squatter had cleared and cultivated the land above the

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[7] Bishop Augustus Spangenberg was given this affectionate title, because like the youth of Bible fame, he cared for his brethren in a strange land.

[8] Haller's barn is still standing at the corner of Front and Water Streets. It is now used as a tobacco warehouse.

head of what we now know as "The Springs," in the vicinity of the present water works. A tract of cleared ground is shown at that location on a draft of the Klein farm made in 1758, which is now framed and in the Trustees' Room at Lititz.

The year 1758 also saw the beginning of operations on the Single Sisters' House.[9] The corner stone was laid June 7th, and by the end of the year the building was finished as far as the third story. It was not completed until 1760.

While these developments in the organization and building of the new Settlement were in progress, several private dwellings had also been built.[10]

The graveyard in the rear of the present church was laid out on November 7th, 1758. On the 8th, with the burial of six-weeks-old John Baumgartner (the first child born in Lititz) the plot was consecrated by Bishop Hehl. On the following Easter (1759), we are told the first "double" dawn service was held—first on the St. James graveyard, and then on the Lititz graveyard, where the worshippers gathered about this one little grave to pray their liturgy of faith.

In the midst of all the activities of these busy years, the Brethren found time to gather together in the *Pilgerhaus* three times daily for worship—morning prayer between rising and breakfast; a general meeting during the rest hour after dinner, when the time was spent singing hymns or listening to the reading of one of Zinzendorf's addresses; and a liturgy in the evening immediately after supper. This schedule was adhered to for many years.[11]

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[9] This is now the Linden Hall Junior College building.

[10] Permission had been given in 1757 to Lewis Cassler, a brother from Philadelphia, to take up a lot and build a house—also to Daniel Neubert. Both these houses were begun in that year. Cassler's was finished and occupied in 1759—the first private house in Lititz; but Neubert was called to labor in Bethlehem and the house he began was completed by the Congregation five years later. These two houses are still standing—Cassler's at 121 E. Main St. (next to the *Pilgerhaus*) and Neubert's at 79 E. Main St. The latter was remodeled in 1909.

[11] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 355.

The amount of traveling, especially between Bethlehem and Lititz, but also to and from Lebanon, York, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Salisbury, etc., is surprising. Undaunted by mud, snow or cold, brethren and sisters alike made the trips summer and winter over roads that, compared to modern standards, must have been little more than trails, traveling by wagon, horseback, or even, sometimes, on foot.

A somewhat amusing, though to the brother concerned at the time apparently tragic incident, is graphically told in the records a few years later, which, incidentally, throws considerable light on the condition of the roads. On October 31st, 1775, we read:

> "Our brother Ludwig Cassler" (the tanner) "experienced on this day the wonder-care of God in saving his life. Yesterday he was traveling with his cart to Bethel in order to *fetch* to his tannery. On his return journey it came about, in an unforeseen way, that a wheel of the cart went over a high stump, and the cart turned upside-down and covered Br. Cassler with the lading," (raw hides) "and remained so lying that neither man nor horse could extricate himself. That happened in the middle of a thicket, where few people traveled; and, in his anxiety, he knew himself to be with nothing to help, as he continued for some hours with quiet sighing to the Saviour, and loud screaming for human help. At last, when he could not continue much longer, there were now some people a mile away who heard somebody screaming that sounded like the rumbling of thunder from afar; so three men went toward the sound; found, to their astonishment, Br. Cassler, whom the one man knew, in this need; and helped him out, to his most thankful admiration."

Beginning in 1756, mention is repeatedly made of the "Wachovia Wagons" which evidently made regular trips between Bethlehem and the Wachovia tract in North Carolina, passing through Lititz enroute, and often resting here for several days. Sometimes a company of twenty or more brethren and sisters would make the journey—most of them, doubtless, colonists on their way to the south. Again a group from Wachovia would return to Bethlehem. Freight between the two centers was also carried. In one instance the brethren here had bread made from wheat brought from North Carolina.

The Wachovia wagons served as convenient means of travel between Bethlehem and Lititz. Henry Haller, the Lititz farmer,

also made frequent wagon trips to Bethlehem and back, usually taking passengers with him. In fact, the intercourse of Moravians between the two places seems to have been almost as great as it is today, in spite of handicaps.

CHAPTER III

Settlement Life (1759-1774)

The most important event of the year 1759 was the uniting, on May 14th, of the Lititz and Warwick congregations into one, which was thereafter known as the Lititz Congregation. As a matter of fact, it merely amounted to a change of name, for the Lititz brethren had, apparently, never been formally organized into a congregation of their own.

On August 7th of this year, the residents of Lititz signed the statutes that had been drawn up for the government of the Settlement. Much might be said of the unique character of these rules, which covered practically every detail of life, spiritual and temporal. They included rules of health and sanitation; of morals; of finance and trade; community welfare; and personal action of all kinds, great and small, from the choosing of a helpmate to entertaining a guest over night. None but Church members who accepted these rules could live in the Settlement.

These statutes were not peculiar to Lititz. A similar code was probably first drawn up for the European Settlements, and, with a few slight alterations to adapt it to local conditions, was accepted by all the Congregation villages organized by the Moravian Brethren in America.

In 1781, the "Brotherly Agreement" was adopted. This Brotherly Agreement was a body of articles drawn up by the General Synod of 1775 in Herrnhut. While it differed from the statutes already in force, it was in entire harmony with them in every declaration of principle. It did not supersede, but supplemented them; it still further curbed initiative, and centralized authority.[1] These statutes were more or less strictly enforced in Lititz

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[1] *History of Bethlehem*—Levering—p. 509 ff., and *History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton—pp. 254, 255.

for at least sixty years, and were not officially rescinded until the closed settlement plan was abandoned on July 23, 1855, nearly a century after the rules were first adopted.[2]

Building operations continued without cessation during the next few years. Work on both Choir houses was carried on simultaneously. The Sisters' House, although begun a year before the Brethren's House, was not occupied until six months after the latter. However, when the Brethren's House was first used—for a Provincial Synod held May 21st to 24th, 1761—much remained to be done in the interior. Floors had been laid in only the first and second stories; there were no banisters; some doors were still to be hung; and the third story was entirely unfinished.[3] Soon after the close of the Synod, on June 20th, the Single Brethren moved from their temporary quarters into the unfinished building. There were ten of them, one of whom was David Zeisberger, the great "Apostle to the Indians," who had accepted the office of *Pfleger,* or spiritual overseer of the Single Brethren's Choir here, and spent eighteen months in Lititz during the latter part of the French and Indian War, as it was impossible to carry on his missionary work among the Indians while the war was in progress. After that, he resigned his position here and went to Bethlehem to resume his missionary work.[4]

A new *Gemeinhaus* for the Settlement was also on the building schedule, as the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* was at that time taxed to its full capacity as a school. Work on this project, however, had been postponed until the Choir Houses were finished. The *Pilgerhaus,* which had been used as a *Gemeinhaus,* was badly needed for other purposes in the expanding village; so it was decided to put the lower floor of the Sisters' House to this use, temporarily, until the new *Gemeinhaus* should be built.

The large first floor room at the west end was fitted up as a

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[2] The Brotherly Agreement was amended in 1819. In 1856 a new set of rules, based upon it, was adopted. These rules were revised in 1887, 1905, 1930 and 1945; the last draft of which are the rules of the congregation today.

[3] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 358, Note 27.

[4] *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*—deSchweinitz—pp. 252, 253.

Saal or meeting hall. An organ was purchased in Bethlehem, through free-will offerings, and was set up by David Tannenberg, who came here from Bethlehem to do the work. At that time he was the assistant of John Gottlob Klemm, from whom he learned his trade.[5] The first service was held in this room on December 1st, 1761.[6] On the 15th, Bishop Hehl and his wife moved from the *Pilgerhaus,* where they had lived for five years, into the rooms opposite the meeting hall. This was the first use to which the Sisters' House was put.

On March 25th, 1762, Sister Magdalena Meyer came to Lititz as spiritual, as well as temporal, overseer, or *Pflegerin,* of the Single Sisters' Choir. With her came another sister to work in the garden. They lived on the second story of the Sisters' House. In April, a third sister, from Lancaster, joined them. With these three, the Single Sisters' "Economy" was organized. In May, the number was augmented by six more single sisters from Bethlehem.

By that time, work had been begun on the new Lititz *Gemeinhaus* (the present parsonage). The corner-stone laying took place with great ceremony on May 17th, 1762. It was just after the close of a Provincial Synod at Lancaster, and all the delegates and many guests were present. Among them were twenty-two ministers, including four bishops.[7]

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[5] This organ, it is supposed, was built by Gustavus Hesselius, a Swede connected with the Moravians in Philadelphia, who was spoken of as "the first organ-builder in America." It was brought to Bethlehem in 1746 by Klemm, who may have been associated with Hesselius. The organ was repaired in 1751 by Robert Harttafel, a third Moravian organ-builder. David Tannenberg, the best known of the four, moved to Lititz in 1765, and set up his factory here. In later years, John Philip Bachman, who came from Herrnhut in 1793, was associated with him, and married his daughter.—*History of Bethlehem*—Levering—pp. 363 and 364; also Note 10, p. 364.

[6] At the first communion held in this room, on January 16th, 1762, the surplice was used for the first time in Lititz.—*Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 360.

[7] In the stone was deposited a document containing an inscription written by Bishop Spangenberg. It contains the Watchword for the day, with appropriate comments; also a statement that this corner-stone was being laid for a *Gemeinhaus* built, through the help of God,

Fifteen months later the new *Gemeinhaus* was finished and ready for use. On August 22nd, 1763, Bishop Hehl moved into it from his temporary quarters in the Sisters' House. His assistant, Brother Francké, also took up his residence there two days later. On the 16th of September the organ that had been used in the meeting room in the Sisters' House was transferred to the *Saal* in the new building. On the evening of the 17th, a farewell meeting was held in the Sisters' House, and on the 18th the new *Gemeinhaus* was solemnly consecrated.

This meeting hall in the new *Gemeinhaus* served the congregation as their house of worship for twenty-three years, until the present church was built. It was on the second floor of the building,[8] the Hehl's and the Francké's having their living quarters

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in the Settlement of Lititz; which Settlement, according to the testimony of "the Disciple of the Lord" (Zinzendorf), whose recent passing they mourned, had been established as

> "the blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord, for the restoration and spreading of evangelical truth; for the gathering and up-building of the children of God in the knowledge and love of Christ; and for a thousand other great things; yes, for the profit of all the world."

The document states that the stone was being laid by the then resident "Bishop Matthew" (Hehl), in the presence of the various bishops, presbyters, deacons, etc., gathered here, as well as all the local lay workers. The inscription on the document ends with the statement that this was being done

> "in the second year of the reign of the most glorious George III of Great Britain, and in the 306th year since the building of the ancient Brethren's Settlement of Lititz in Bohemia."

As a supplement to this inscription, is added a list of the names of all visiting and local ministers and workers, male and female, who were present, including all the workers in the various Choirs in Lititz; the doctor; the farmer; their wives; and the stewards of the congregation—65 in all.

[8] It seems to be characteristic of the early Moravians to have their meeting halls on the second story. It was so in the *Gemeinhaus* in Bethlehem; in the *Pilgerhaus* and the Brethren's House in Lititz; and probably other places. This, undoubtedly, was done to take advantage of the heat from the living quarters below, as no other means of heating the chapel was provided.

on the first floor.[9] On the walls of the *Saal* hung a number of oil paintings of the outstanding events in the life of Christ, painted by the famous Moravian artist, Valentine Haidt.[10] The room was lighted by candles in tin sconces hanging on the walls—whole candles on Sunday evenings when there was a litany at the opening of the service. The *Diener* and *Dienerinnen* went about quietly during the litany snuffing them when they began to burn dimly.[11] The male and female portions of the congregation entered the building by different doors—the men by means of an outside stairway on the west side of the building and the women by the front door on the north.

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[9] For several years three ministerial families occupied the house and had a common housekeeping.—*Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 362, Note 34.

[10] Seven of these paintings which were still in the Lititz Archive Room, were restored by John H. Muth during the year 1947, and are now hanging on the walls of Fellowship Hall and the Men's Bible Class Room of the Christian Education Building. An eighth painting done by Haidt—a portrait of Zinzendorf—is in the Church Parlor.

The following is condensed from an article by Mr. Muth in the August, 1947, issue of *The Moravian Messenger*, published by the Lititz Congregation:

Valentine Haidt was born October 4th, 1700 (and died in January, 1780—*History of Bethlehem*—Levering—p. 523, Note 16). He was destined by his father to follow in his footsteps by becoming a goldsmith. He was given lessons in drawing and showed so much ability that, at the age of ten, he received a prize for painting from the Academy of Berlin. Valentine did not approve of the life led by many of the young goldsmiths, so he left to study in Italy. After some travel on the Continent, he went to London, where he met and married Catherina Kompigni, a French Huguenot. It was at this time that he became acquainted with, and joined, the Moravian Church. In 1754 Haidt was sent by Zinzendorf to America. Arriving in Bethlehem, he made numerous missionary visits to other Moravian Settlements. "In all probability it was at this time the paintings, now hanging in Fellowship Hall, were made.

"His portraits are what we call stylized. The figures of men and women follow definite patterns, but the facial features show individuality. His religious subjects, however, carry an individualistic feeling and a well constructed pattern."

[11] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 362.

With the completion of the new *Gemeinhaus,* the Sisters' House, no longer needed for congregational purposes, could be devoted entirely to the use for which it had been built. Nine more sisters arrived from Bethlehem to live in the building; and, on the evening of September 19th, their dormitory was consecrated.[12] That night they occupied it for the first time.

The Brethren's House, too, had been receiving acquisitions from Bethlehem periodically; so that at this time there were twenty-two single brethren, six youths, and six boys, living there. On the 10th of October, 1763, it is recorded for the first time that a local youth, Jacob Ricksecker, left his father's home to live in the Brethren's House and learn the trade of shoemaking, which was one of a number of handicrafts that had been started in both the Brethren's and Sisters' Houses. Other local young men and women received permission to enter the choir houses from time to time, but most of the residents appear to have come from other places, principally Bethlehem.[13]

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[12] The corner-stone of the Sisters' House was laid June 7th, 1758. It was under roof by the end of 1759. The Sisters' chapel was dedicated May 18th, 1762; and the dormitory on September 19th, 1763. There is no record of the building being dedicated as a whole. The corner-stone of the Brethren's House was laid July 4th, 1759. It was consecrated December 5th, 1761.

[13] A letter written by Bishop Ettwein to General Washington during the Revolutionary War, in an effort to prevent the commandeering of the whole village as a General Hospital, gives the following description of the social and economic set-up in the two Choir Houses:

> "On one Side of it" (The *Gemeinhaus*) "the Single Brethren & on the other the Single Sisters built Houses on their own Account; as well the Single Men, as the Single Women in these Houses have their own separate Oeconomy, each House has two Persons to take Care of their temporal & spiritual Welfare; each Person residing in the House, is paid for its Labour & pays weekly a certain Sum for Boarding & Lodging to the House Oeconomy, the yearly Profit in that Oeconomy is for the Sick & Superannuated or others who cannot earn a Livelihood."—*John Ettwein and the Moravian Church during the Revolutionary Period*—K. G. Hamilton. Vol. XII, Parts III and IV of the *Transactions* of the Moravian Historical Society, pp. 270, 271.

After the festivities in connection with the consecration of the *Gemeinhaus* were over, and most of the guests had gone home, the time came to face the fact that there was a serious financial problem for the congregation to meet. For, while the Brethren's Unity owned all property, each congregation, as well as individual "Economy," was expected to support itself and pay for its own buildings and improvements. The cost of the various congregation buildings was met in part by contributions from individuals and gifts from other congregations; but the rest was covered by a loan from Bethlehem which had to be repaid, and on which interest was payable.[14]

The problem of paying off the remaining indebtedness on the two Choir houses was turned over to these individual "Economies" each of which set up its own "Diacony," or financial organization, to meet the interest and reduce the capital debt through the profit on the industries connected with it. The *Gemeinhaus,* however, was the problem of the congregation as a whole.

The Rev. Frederick Marshall, a man of high official standing and much experience in financial matters, had come here with other church dignitaries from Bethlehem for the consecration services. A few days later, Marshall held a conference with the stewards here. It was followed by a congregation council, at which he explained to the members that, while the income from the farm and the mill and any other industries that might be established by the congregation could be used to pay the interest on the loan, the workers in these industries would first have to receive their support from them, so that there would be very little surplus. He urged the individual members, therefore,—"everyone who was not himself in need of alms"—to give liberally, especially for the next few years.

The congregation responded heartily and the Congregation Diacony was put on a firm foundation. Nicholas Henry Eberhard was in charge of the management of the finances, as he had been of the finances of the various building operations.

It was expected that the congregation income would be in-

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[14] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein, p. 360, Note 28.

creased substantially in a few years' time, because an inn and a store had been started in the *Pilgerhaus* after it had been vacated in 1761. These were operated for the congregation by Brother Andrew Horn. He was also *Vorsteher,* or Manager of Temporal Affairs, of the Settlement; and many and varied were his duties. "The road before the *Gemeinsaal* is extremely muddy and should be repaired. Bro. Horn will attend to strewing shavings on it, so that it may be somewhat passable." "Bro. Horn is to procure oil for the lantern at the outside door of the *Saal.*" "Bro. Horn will inquire whether orders (for the sisters for spinning) could not be procured from Philadelphia," are some of the entries that appear in the minutes of the "Committee of Temporal Affairs."

These entries, and similar ones, also throw a side-light on conditions in the village at the time—unlighted, muddy streets, sometimes with cows wandering at large (Entry of April, 1774). There were few, if any, sidewalks before 1770, when the Church Council resolved that each householder should lay a pavement of some kind before his house. No trees were planted along the streets until after 1780.[15] A scaffold was set up in front of the Brethren's House in 1764, supporting a bell which the brethren undertook to ring at the rising hour. Most of the dwellings were story-and-a-half buildings, and all were set along the street line. The upper floor, which included most of the sleeping quarters, was always unheated, and often unplastered. The houses, of course, were devoid of all plumbing. They were lighted by candles or fat lamps and heated by fire-places, which, in addition to bake-ovens, were the only means of cooking. The fire-places were sometimes supplemented by small wood stoves for heating purposes, but at this period the stoves were never used for cooking.[16] The

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[15] Entry in *Aufseher Collegium* Minutes of July 20th, 1780: "It would be a benefit to the village to plant trees along the streets; therefore it was ordered that a *Baum-Schule* (nursery) be started."

[16] *Five-plate stoves* were used in America for heating by the Dutch, Swedish and German settlers, especially those of Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and were made and sold by them as early as 1728. After Revolutionary times, these five-plate stoves were superseded by the so-called *English* or *ten-plate stove.* Not until this time did the idea of cooking seem to connect itself, in a general way, with stoves. But these ten-plate inventions could cook and warm at the

fires had to be carefully banked at night to preserve some live coals; otherwise it was necessary to make a trip to the neighbor's for fire. ("Fire must never be carried from one house to another, or across the street, except in well-protected iron or earthen pots. It would be better if each householder owned a tinder-box"—Entry of September 19th, 1781.)

In 1764 the frame portion of *Zum Anker* Inn was built,[17] and Bro. Horn moved his *Gastwirtschaft* out of the *Pilgerhaus* to that location. The store passed into the hands of Christian Fenstermacher, and was moved across the street into the building it occupied for many years, and which is still standing.[18] Three years later it was taken over by the congregation and operated by Jasper Payne, who came from Bethlehem for that purpose; and by others in the employ of the congregation, who followed him.

The *Pilgerhaus,* having been vacated, was used temporarily to accommodate out-of-town members and visitors on Sundays and *Fest* days, between services; but in 1765 was purchased by David Tannenberg (or "Tanneberger" as he was locally known), who set up his organ-building establishment there.[19]

In the spring of 1765 the ground was staked off for a wool-carding mill on the creek. Work was begun immediately and it was put into operation in June. It is interesting to note that a few years later (1771) the St. James Church was bought by the single brethren, and the logs of which it was built used for a house for the miller. This church had been used regularly for Sunday morning services and for funerals till 1765; although

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same time, and soon came to replace, at least partially, the large masonry bread oven. The stove was regarded as a cooking device supplementary to the fireplace, near which it stood with its stovepipe let into the fireplace chimney.—*Columbia Encyclopedia*—p. 1694, Col. I.

[17] This frame portion is no longer standing, but a brick wing, to the west of it, which was built in 1804 and has been enlarged several times, still forms a part of the completely remodeled and modernized "General Sutter" Hotel opened to the public in 1930.

[18] At 122 East Main St.

[19] At 125-129 East Main St. The *Pilgerhaus* stood till 1865, when it was torn down; but its rear wall still remains, being incorporated in the three-story brick building which replaces it.

after the erection of the new *Gemeinhaus* two years earlier, the use of "the Church" was no longer popular.[20]

Brother Bernard Adam Grubé, who had come here from Bethlehem May 31st, 1765, as pastor, was also an eminent musician. From the time of his arrival, the music of the congregation took on a new character. In November, Grubé was made musical director, and organized a choir and an orchestra, which soon enhanced the church services on special occasions. By the beginning of the year 1766 the choir was able to sing "antiphonal Chorales and a Thank-Psalm." Frequent references are made in the records to "odes" and choir anthems, often of Grubé's composition; which, in due time, were occasionally sung to orchestral accompaniment.

The orchestra also furnished an outlet for the aesthetic tastes of the brethren and provided a pleasant occupation for them between the hours of work; for the community abhorred idleness, and frowned on most secular pastimes.[21]

As early as 1768 the children sang for their parents on the Married People's Festival Day, which custom has continued to the present time.

We are told that on Easter of the year 1766, "The congregation was awakened early with music," possibly trombone music, although the trombone choir was not regularly organized till December 4th, 1771. It made its first public appearance at the Christmas Eve vigils at 10 o'clock in the evening, December 24th of that year; and a week later, at the usual New Year's Eve service, for the first time ushered in the New Year.[22]

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[20] *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 364, Note 40.

[21] *Lititz an Early Musical Center*—H. H. Beck—Lancaster County Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1915, p. 71.

[22] The first mention of reading the text for January 1st at the New Year's Eve service was at the close of 1773.

CHAPTER IV

Early Schools

With the usual Moravian emphasis on education, there is constant reference in the church records to the instruction of the youth of the community, in children's Sunday services as well as on week days.

The school that had been begun in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* in 1748 continued there for a period of sixteen years. It grew steadily for the first ten years, reaching its peak in 1758, when the number of pupils had increased from the original seven to an average of seventy-seven. According to the Memorabilia at the close of that year, "it would be noticeably stronger if only we had more room." Then, for some unexplained reason, the attendance dropped off; until six years later, in 1764, there were only five or six children attending and the problem of how to support a teacher arose.

The brethren and sisters from the outlying farms were summoned to a meeting, and Brother Matthew made several proposals as to how this matter might be handled:

(1) The brethren and sisters could continue to supply Brother Schweishaupt, who was then in charge of the school, with provisions.

(2) He might get a definite tuition from the boys who came to the school.

(3) He might be supplied with a cow.

As a further means of helping to support the teacher, as well as the other congregation workers, Brother Matthew suggested the institution of Sunday collections after the service each week. This proposal was agreed to, and by the following Sunday, boxes had been put up at the doors of the *Saal* in the new *Gemeinhaus* to receive the weekly contributions, as the congregation left the building.[1]

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[1] In 1760 it was decided to take Sunday collections to pay the expense of lighting the meeting room. (*Sketch of the Early History of Lititz*—Brickenstein—p. 357) But the collections had evidently been discontinued until this need arose. From this date on, however, they

It is doubtful, however, whether Brother Schweishaupt ever got his cow; for, three months later, in October, it was announced that he had accepted a call to Lancaster. Although every effort had been made to get a teacher who could support himself by means of a trade (since the brethren could not provide for his support), no such person could be found; therefore, the question was raised whether it really was necessary for a teacher to occupy the house at all, since the number of pupils was so small, and there was little hope for an increase in attendance. Besides, the house needed many repairs, and there was an old debt still unpaid on the building. It was decided to close the school and allow the schoolhouse to stand empty until it should be decided what to do with it. Brother Matthew, however, recommended that, until a school could again be provided, each family should have its own "house school."

For four years the Warwick children had no school or schooling, other than what their parents could supply, until their school was reopened in the Settlement of Lititz on November 22nd, 1768. This was made possible through the decision to move the old schoolhouse (which was built of logs) into the village.

Through the work of many willing hands, the dismantling was accomplished in three days' time, in August, 1765; and by April 24th of the following year, the building was set up in Lititz on a lot on the square, opposite the new *Gemeinhaus*. However, much needed to be done to it before it was ready for occupancy. It was to be used, not only as a school, but also as a place where the outlying brethren could stay before and between services on Sundays and *Fest* days, since by this time the *Pilgerhaus* had been sold and was no longer available for this purpose. Work in finishing the interior evidently dragged along, however, until the

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appear to have been permanent except for an intermission during the Revolutionary War; for we read on March 31st, 1779:

> "In a conference this month it was resolved, from Easter on, to put up again at each *Saal* door the boxes for putting in free-will offerings after each public preaching, as a help for all congregation expenses; this had been discontinued for a year and a day on account of the deficiency of separate small coins, and other reasons."

spring of 1768. The local brethren were probably spurred to action then by the fact that a Synod[2] was to be held in Lititz in the fall (October 20th-23rd) and the building was needed to house the visiting brethren.

In November, after the close of the Synod, Brother Godfrey Roessler came here with his wife as school teacher and congregation helper, a position which he held (usually with one or two assistants) from the time the school was reopened on November 20th, until his death eight years later, in 1776.

In the meantime, however, two attempts had been made to carry on schools in *Lititz* for the *village* children: the first in the beginning of the year 1764 (the same year the Warwick school was closed); and the second in 1765; but each time the effort came to nothing after a few months' time.

Brother Grubé, who arrived in the spring of 1765, had been sent here, not only as a minister and musician, but also "to begin the school as a whole again." In June he opened a school for the Lititz boys; and in August, under his supervision, the two sisters Elizabeth Bürstler and Anna Maria Kohn began a day school for the Lititz girls in the Sisters' House. The latter progressed so well that in 1769 (November 14th) it moved into a new building that had been built for it (a part of the present main building of Linden Hall).

These two schools, as well as Brother Roessler's school for the Warwick children, continued until 1771; when an attempt was made to put into effect an edict of the General Synod (in Europe) of 1769, that "wherever practicable, all church schools were to be changed into parochial day schools, to lessen the cost."[3]

A number of conferences were held in May, 1771, the outcome of which was a decision to combine the school for the Warwick children with the two schools for the Lititz children, placing all

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[2] This Synod was the last one in America officially designated a "Synod" until 1849. The legislative gatherings held in the interval were merely called "Conferences" and had very limited authority. The management of the churches was all centralized in the governing body of the "Unity" in Europe.—*History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton—p. 241.

[3] *History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton—p. 218.

the boys under Bro. Roessler, with Tobias Hirté as his assistant, and all the girls under the two above-mentioned sisters. Both schools were now day schools. The boys' was held in the transported Warwick schoolhouse, and the girls' probably in the Sisters' House, for the new girls' school building was evacuated.

In the next few years the number of girls in the school gradually decreased. In April, 1775, there were so few that Sr. Kohn was dismissed as teacher, and the children were left in sole charge of Martha, an Indian sister, who had succeeded Sr. Bürstler, after the latter's marriage, two years previously. By the end of May, the number of girls had shrunk to four, and the school was closed entirely until the following October, when these four little girls were taken into Br. Roessler's school with the boys. This was apparently a co-educational institution, a fact that is almost unbelievable in view of the usual strict segregation of the sexes.

With the sudden death of Godfrey Roessler in 1776, Br. Grubé took entire charge of the village school, "boys and girls here and outwardly," which, at the end of 1778 had nineteen pupils—ten boys and nine girls.

It appears that this one school of boys and girls together was the only one in Lititz until 1784. Then, probably due to improved conditions after the war, the schools were again separated. The boys continued in the school house; and the girls had their school in the "Weavers' House" or "Cabinet," a small building that stood (until 1910) in the space between the Sisters' House or "Castle" and the present parsonage. A year later, in 1785, with returning prosperity, the girls' school was moved back again into the Sisters' House; but another twenty years passed before it merited its own separate building once more.

(The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Mabel Haller, of Philadelphia, in collaboration on the Lititz schools, and in furnishing translations from the various Choir and Congregation Memorabilia of Lititz, as well as from the Bethlehem and Lititz Congregation Diaries, in regard to the schools.

The information for this chapter, except as otherwise credited, is derived from this source in addition to the "*Historical Account of the Beginning and Progress of the 'Bruder-Gemeinlein' in Warwick, and the afterwards there arisen 'Bruder-Gemein-Ort' Lititz, in Lancaster County in Pennsylvania,*" and the continuation of the same, as noted in Note 3 of Chapter I of this History.)

CHAPTER V

The Revolutionary Period (1774-1784)

In reading the day by day record of the happenings in the early community, one cannot but be impressed by the simple faith that saw God's hand in all that took place. People escaped serious injury from accidents, or recovered from sickness, and they read in it a signal proof of the Lord's special care. Again, the sorrow occasioned by death was overcome by joy that the brother or sister had gone home to be with the Saviour. After all, who is to say that there is no such thing as individual providence by the hand of God! Or who would dare say that a childlike trust in His wisdom and daily guidance is not a good pattern to live by!

Frequent memorial days and Choir Festivals were celebrated with homilies, liturgies, lovefeasts and communions. Even non-religious occasions, such as birthdays or wedding anniversaries, called for little group lovefeasts.

So the brethren and sisters, as in other Moravian settlements, apparently lived in a little island of peace and safety, sheltered from the temptations and vicissitudes of the world, and often oblivious to the political trends of the times.

Into this serene and quiet atmosphere, broke, with harsh reality, the storm of war.

In July, 1774, all freeholders of the County were summoned to a meeting in Lancaster to elect deputies to Congress, in Philadelphia. This called for a decision as to what the position of the Brethren in Lititz should be in the threatened rupture between the Colonies and the Mother Country. A meeting was held at which Brother Horn was chosen as their representative at the County gathering. The conclusion reached as to their attitude in the matter was "that we will seek to be quiet and not permit party-spirit to come up among us; and that we will answer those who wish to know our feelings that we desire peace to be maintained."

Thus, as did the Moravian Church at large, they endeavored to remain neutral; for the Moravians at that time, like their neigh-

bors, the Dunkards and Mennonites, were non-jurors and non-combatants. In fact, they had been officially recognized as such by the British Parliament.[1]

When, later in the month, the Lititz Brethren received notice that a collector would soon arrive to receive contributions for the American army in Boston, the Council determined to leave the matter of giving or not giving up to each brother; but, in any case, no one was to enter into any argument with the collector "for we will not make cause with either party."

In the year 1775, when Congress adopted a measure forbidding the use of tea, the Lititz brethren willingly complied, by resolving that the sale of tea should cease in their store. They were dismayed, in April, by the news of "the bloody action between the Royal Troops and the Americans at Charlestown and Bunker Hill, near Boston;" but still they tried to maintain their neutrality; as indeed they were urged to do by a circular letter sent out in May by the Provincial Helpers Conference in Bethlehem.

It is evident that they hoped, even yet, for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, because on July 20, which day had been appointed by the Continental Congress as one of fasting and prayer in all the American Provinces, we read, "We interceded with God our Saviour for ourselves and the whole land, and for George III, our lawful king, and his Government."

Through the remainder of the year 1775 there is little or no reference in the Church records to national conditions, but in November an event occurred that loomed large in the eyes of the little community and probably, for the time, overshadowed the serious political situation; for, during the night of November

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[1] By an act passed May 12, 1749, by the British Parliament, the *Unitas Fratrum* (or Moravian Church) was recognized as a Protestant Episcopal Church of ancient origin, descended from the old Bohemian Moravian Brethren; and its members were granted full liberty of conscience and worship throughout Britain and its dependencies. This liberty of conscience included scruples against taking of an oath and against bearing arms, or serving in any military capacity; but conceded their willingness and readiness "to contribute whatever sums of money shall be thought a reasonable compensation for such service."—*History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamliton—pp. 136, 137; and *History of Bethlehem*—Levering—p. 221.

25th, Brother Hopsch, the night watchman in the Brethren's House, discovered a fire at a distance, which proved to be the grist and saw-mills. Both of these were completely destroyed, together with a large quantity of grain.

Their neighbors were very solicitous and kind in their offers to help in re-building. Many consultations were held in the days that followed; and the brethren decided the first thing to do was to send Brother Francké to Bethlehem to give a first-hand report of this calamity "before it comes to their ears by flying rumor." He was to consult with Brother Seidel and the Conference there as to what action should be taken to retrieve their loss.

Ten days later Brother Francké returned with Brother Hans Christensen, who had superintended the building of the mills in the first instance. They brought with them several other brethren who had been appointed to carry on the work of re-building, which it had been decided should begin at once. It took the greater part of two years before both mills were completed.

During the stirring year 1776 there is little mention of the political situation. The most important item was on July 13, when the chronicler penned: "From the newspapers we learn that on the 4th inst., in Philadelphia, independence was actually declared by Congress, and all provinces made free states." It seems incredible, in these days of radio communication, when events on the other side of the world are learned almost at the hour they occur, that it should take nine days for so important a piece of news to filter through a distance of only seventy-odd miles.

By the end of the year matters became alarming, because of the progress of the British army; and the next year, 1777, brought with it a full realization of the conflict. Blankets, linen and clothing were collected for the army. Taxation was unusually heavy because of the Brethren's unwillingness to go to war, but was borne without complaint. On a number of occasions, parties of ill-fed and ragged soldiers passed through the village, going into the houses and demanding food. In one instance, six armed soldiers entered the Sisters' House and tried to force their way to the dormitory to take the blankets from the beds. Brother Schmick and Brother Francké were sent for in haste, and managed to get

the fellows away before any damage was done. Horses and wagons from the neighboring farms and from that of the congregation were pressed into service by the soldiers, to carry provisions to the army.

A stigma often rested upon the brethren on account of their refusal to take the test oath abjuring allegiance to the king. This refusal, based, of course, on conscientious scruples against swearing of any kind,[2] led in several instances to imprisonment.

Finally, on December 14th, we read, "A doctor, of the name of Kennedy, brought us the disagreeable news that, by order of General Washington, 250 sick and wounded soldiers must be quartered here. He inspected our Brethren's House which suited his purpose exactly, and ordered it to be immediately vacated. We could, however, retain kitchen and cellar for our own use."

The brethren found lodging where they could,—some in the schoolhouse, some in the store, and some in the various shops belonging to the Brethren's House Economy. They all had their meals in the Brethren's House basement kitchen. The army physicians, Dr. Brown[3] and Dr. Allison, and a number of officers were quartered in various private homes.

For a period of eight months this arrangement continued—from December 19th, 1777, when the first sick soldiers arrived, till August 28, 1778, when the hospital was discontinued. During that time fully 500 soldiers, probably a good many more, were cared for in Lititz. One hundred and twenty died. Ten were removed elsewhere, and the rest were buried in "a corner of our

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[2] The Test Act was also repugnant to the Moravians on account of the international character of their Church, with congregations and missions in many places under British dominion.—*History of Bethlehem*—Levering—p. 440.

[3] Dr. William Brown, son of an eminent Scotch physician, Dr. Gustavus Brown, was born in Virginia, and educated in Edinburgh. He wrote a pharmacopoeia for use in the military hospitals of the Continental Army—the first of such works published in America. This book is dated in its preface "Lititz, March 12th, 1778." *The Military Hospital at Lititz, 1777-78.*—H. H. Beck—Lancaster County Historical Society publication, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, p. 9.

lowermost field,'' a plot then some distance east of the village.[4]

The malignant fever which raged in the hospital and was designated ''camp fever'' assumed epidemic proportions; and, by the end of the year 1777, was near its peak. At that time the hospital was so crowded that all the rooms and halls were filled; and on December 28th we read: ''The misery in the lazaretto cannot be described; neither can it, without being seen be imagined. The two doctors themselves are sick, and have the attention of Bro. Adolph Meyer (the Lititz physician). Therefore, the soldiers are without medicine.''

The epidemic got out of hand to such an extent that it spread through the village; and ''from January on till into the spring of the year, stole forth and spared few houses. The single brethren, however, were fallen upon the hardest, in that 15 brethren and 4 boys and 8 others in the village lay hard and long thereunder; which also made the care of the sick very troublesome.''[5] Seven brethren and three sisters died of the fever before the epidemic wore itself out.

To add to the misery of that fateful spring, word was received about the middle of March that a ''General Hospital'' was to be established here, which would necessitate the vacating of all the houses. Bishop Ettwein wrote to General Washington, respectfully protesting against such a move;[6] describing the financial, housing and other conditions in Lititz and pointing out the hardships such an eventuality would entail on the villagers. He also explained the impossibility of accommodating the Lititz residents in already crowded Bethlehem and Nazareth! for it had been suggested that they might be transported there. In reply, he received the following courteous letter, dictated by General Washington, himself; and signed by his own hand:

"Headquarters, March 28, 1778.

"Sir:—I have received your letter of the 25 inst. by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the In-

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[4] This plot was marked in 1930 by a monument and plaque, erected by the United States Government.

[5] From the Memorabilia of 1778.

[6] See Note 13, Chapter III of this history.

habitants of Letiz, by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this kind is to the Welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made anywhere without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—at the same time it is ever my wish & aim that the public Good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual Interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The Arrangement and Distribution of Hospitals depends entirely on Dr. Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice—It would be proper however to represent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz; and you may if you choose it, communicate the Contents of this Letter to him. I am Sir Your Most obedt.

"Servt.

'Go. WASHINGTON."

In accordance with Gen. Washington's suggestion, a petition was sent to Dr. Shippen in regard to the matter, and in reply, the brethren were assured that he would do his utmost to protect their Society; that he did not believe it would be necessary to occupy any more of the village than was already in use; and that if it should prove essential to establish a General Hospital here, he would first consult with them on the subject. This went far to restore their peace of mind. As matters turned out, Dr. Shippen's prediction proved to be correct, and the idea of using Lititz for a General Hospital was dropped.

On August 28, 1778, came the glad news that the hospital was to be abandoned. The remaining occupants were moved to Yellow Springs, Va., and to Lancaster; and peace and quiet once more reigned in the village. Sister Polly Penry, the Sisters' House diarist wrote the next day:

"We certainly find it delightful to enjoy again our former peaceful life. It must be said, however, that Dr. Allison maintained order and discipline to the best of his ability. The soldiers being quartered so near us, we were subjected to all manner of inconvenience and care, but the Lord commanded his dear angels to keep watch over us, so that we might not be harmed. In this, Doctor Allison—so influenced by the Lord—was of much assistance, for he acted towards us like a father, taking every precaution that we should not be incom-

moded in the slightest degree by the soldiers or their wives. May the dear Saviour bless him for it."

Then followed days of activity, while the Brethren's House was cleansed of all dirt and rubbish. All the stoves and windows needed repairs. These were made by the brethren, who also white-washed all the walls and repainted the woodwork. The sisters scrubbed the house from top to bottom; and, by September 25th, it was once more habitable (and, incidentally, sterilized—though perhaps they did not realize it—by the lime, the turpentine and the lye); and "thankful and happy" the brethren moved into it once more.[7]

It was easier to restore the Brethren's House, however, than to remove the effects of the conflict from the hearts and lives of the people. In spite of all precautions, contact with the soldiers had resulted, not only in the spread of "camp fever" through the village, but in a more insidious contagion of spirit, which resulted in unrest among the young people, and misunderstandings among their elders.

One evidence of the new spirit of independence of action and disregard of the constituted authority, was the laying out, in May, 1778, by the irrepressible Tobias Hirté, of a "special place" at the "Big Spring" for merrymaking, which was indulged in "late into the night" by the young people, including some of the musicians; and in which the convalescent soldiers participated. This is the first mention of the Spring as a pleasure resort, and the verdict of the *Aufseher Collegium* at that time was: "this has given the congregation and ourselves great offence. Tobias Hirté shall be summoned to appear before the Brethren of the Conference and told not to dare, in the future to begin such a thing on our land—for he is given to sudden ideas of such a kind—especially not without permission; and secondly to leave the place at the spring as it now is, and do nothing more to it."

However, in the early 1800's there is evidence of a changing attitude, for the *Collegium* granted the young people the use of an acre of ground about the Big Spring, "since this lot is not

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[7] On October 5th, 1913, the Congregation placed a memorial tablet on the building, commemorating its use as a Continental Hospital.

worth much for building,"[8] which, by working evenings and Saturday afternoons, they fitted up with arbors, planting trees and otherwise beautifying the spot.

The misunderstandings during the crucial year for Lititz (1778) were brought about by diverse views held by the members of the congregation upon the fight for independence then being waged by the Colonies, and regarding the stand the Moravian Church had taken in the matter of bearing arms, taking the Test Oath, etc.; for they were not all of the same mind on these matters. On account of this conflict of opinions and the disturbed conditions caused by the presence of so many soldiers and officers in the village, the monthly Communions were discontinued from June to October. With the closing of the hospital and the removal of the soldiers, a measure of peace and quietness returned to the village, and it was with great joy that the congregation, subordinating its individual differences at last, in its recognition of Jesus Christ as its Head and Chief Elder, was able to celebrate the 13th of November Festival, and once more partake of the Lord's Supper as a united body of worshippers. The trombones, too, which had been all but silenced during the months of turmoil, were heard once more on this glad occasion.

In December, the Assembly repealed all penalties attached to the Test Act except that which denied the right of voting (which troubled the Brethren very little). Gradually, the tension under which they had lived during that year relaxed; and although Lititz, as the rest of the country, experienced a growing scarcity of foreign goods, and inflation at home, with higher and higher prices for food and all domestic products, rising wages, and a corresponding deterioration of the value of the currency, our chronicler was able to write, at the end of 1779: "Our dear Heavenly Father has also in grace helped us up to this time, so that we not only had a sufficiency, with thanksgiving, but have been able to give to others."

The remaining war years elicited little comment from the diarists, except to tell of a marauding raid by a company of light horsemen, who passed through the village and the neighboring

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[8] *Aufseher Collegium* minutes of May 2nd, 1803.

country; and to deplore the treatment that some of the townspeople meted out to two English prisoners employed at the inn. For this, the offenders were severely censured, and arrangements eventually were made for sending the prisoners elsewhere—"the sooner the better."

Finally, on September 3rd, 1783, the treaty of peace between England and her former Colonies was signed; on November 25th, the British army was evacuated from New York; and on December 11th, a Day of Thanksgiving appointed by the National Government was celebrated. On this occasion, the Brethren's House diary reads, "In the evening, for joy at the return of peace, we illuminated our house; the trombonists playing meanwhile, much to our delight."

Although, apparently, Lititz settled back into its old way of life after the close of the conflict, the contact which the people had had with the soldiers and greater intercourse with the outside world, because of the war, brought about the beginning of a deep-seated change in their thinking. One after another, some of the less-meaningful customs were dropped and institutions abandoned, in the years that followed; and the old, simple, devout community life was never again quite the same.

CHAPTER VI

The New Church (1784-1787)

The first intimation of lack of room in the (second) *Gemeinhaus* was on Easter Sunday, April 11th, 1773, when, at the morning preaching service there was "a crowd of people which our chapel could not all hold."

At the first Elders' Conference of the next year, the matter of building a new "enlarged chapel" was considered. Brother Peter Kreiter, who had recently been elected to membership on the Board, offered to stand the cost of erecting the outside walls; and it was thought that, with his assistance, little by little, the church could be built. Upon going into the matter further, however, it was found that the congregation funds for a number of years had been insufficient to meet the interest, let alone pay off the capital

debt still resting on the *Gemeinhaus;* so that the Brethren did not feel justified in adding anything more to the indebtedness. A meeting was held with ten laymen, and a plan worked out to collect money to clear the debt.

Just what success this fund-raising committee had, we are not told; but there is no further reference to erecting a new Church building until eleven years later. The war, of course, had intervened, which, with very high taxes and inflationary costs of labor and materials, to say nothing of the anxiety and confusion of the times, put even the thought of building out of the question. Then, too, during the war, the number of members steadily dropped from an all-time high up to that point of 342 at the end of the year 1773, to 270 in 1779[1]—a loss of almost 22 per cent, caused mostly by the "falling away" of the country members. Under these circumstances, the need for more elbowroom was no longer felt. As the war drew to a close, however, the congregation again increased in number, till, by the end of 1782, it once more passed the 300 mark.

By 1785, the debt on the old building had evidently been paid off; for, in August of that year, it was decided, "in faith and reliance upon God's blessing," to build a larger *Gemein* and *Kirchen-Saal,* or a church.[2] The expense was estimated at £1,000.[3] The congregation was poor, but it was thought that £200 could be collected in Europe and from other congregations in this country, and a loan of £800 might be made. The interest could be made up by raising the rent on the land (for it was all—even the house-lots—owned by the church); by regular church collections; and by contributions from the "Diaconies" of the Single Brethren and the Single Sisters.

In November, a plan for the new church made by Brother William Henry, of Lancaster, was adopted. The building was to

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[1] These figures represent total membership. The number of communicant members in 1773 was 180; and in 1779, 154.

[2] *Historical Account of the Beginning . . . . . of the Congregation, etc.* read August 13th, 1790. (See Note 6, Chapter I)

[3] The decimal system, with the Dollar as the unit, was not adopted by the United States until 1787.

be 66 x 50 feet in size, and 24 feet high. It was to be built to the west of the *Gemeinhaus* (which was thereafter used as a parsonage) and adjoining it, but extending five feet beyond, in front and rear. The floor level was to be four feet below that of the *Gemeinhaus,* to save expense. In order to gain room on the inside and yet keep off drafts, two small entrance halls—one for the men and one for the women—were to be built on the outside of the building. The design for the steeple was made by David Tannenberg, the organ builder, who was also engaged to build a new organ for the church. It was to have ten or twelve registers and two manuals. Its price was fixed at £350.

The cornerstone of the new church was laid June 7th, 1786. A sealed leaden box containing a document written in German and English was placed in the stone. Building operations prospered; and by October, the new church was not only under roof, but so far completed that on the 20th, the ball could be placed upon the steeple. By June, 1787, it became evident that exterior and interior would be finished in time to hold the consecration on August 13th—the birthday of the Renewed Moravian Church.

On that day the congregation was awakened at five o'clock in the morning by the trombones, which were played for the first time from the new steeple. It was estimated that "not less than two thousand people" attended the consecration services; with visitors and ministerial brethren from Bethlehem, Nazareth, Hope (N. J.), York, and especially Lancaster, including friends from other denominations.

At nine o'clock the doors were opened to admit the multitude; and the church, "spacious and beautiful," together with the "delightfully sounding organ," was consecrated. At this and the other services of the day, the organ was "skillfully" played by the Rev. John Herbst, Pastor of the Lancaster Congregation. The choir, augmented by singers from Bethlehem and Nazareth, sang a number of anthems; and, together with the trombonists, enhanced the singing of the congregational hymns.

The festival sermon was preached by the Pastor, Bro. Klingsohr, at ten o'clock. At this service "there were about thirteen hundred persons present within the church, and two hundred outside"—most of them visitors; for we are told "our own

brethren and sisters generally gave place to strangers'' in this service. More than six hundred people were entertained, without charge, at noon in the Choir and family houses. Another preaching service was held at 1:30, to accommodate the strangers who could not find room in the morning. At three o'clock a lovefeast was held. Not nearly all the visitors could get into the church; and a number on the outside were served by the sextons with cakes and wine diluted with water, as were those within the building. At 5:00 there was a service for the members of the congregation; and the day was closed with a Holy Communion at 7:00, which was partaken of by 104 visiting brethren and sisters, in addition to the Lititz members.

For the previous thirteen years the Congregation Festival had been celebrated on September 18th, the date of the consecration of the *Gemeinhaus;* but on this day, August 13th, 1787, it was combined with the consecration service of the new building and with the commemoration of the renewal of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, in 1727. Ever since our present sanctuary has been standing, therefore, the August 13th Festival has held this threefold significance for the Lititz congregation.

When the church was completed, it was found to have cost $5,326.28. (By that time the dollar had superseded the pound as the legal unit of value.) This amount was exclusive of donated materials and probably free labor. A debt of at least $2,600 rested upon the building, which took more than thirty-six years to wipe out, mostly through small bequests. In 1824 Andrew Kreiter, by his legacy of $1,000, reduced the debt to $404.78; which was paid off in process of time.[4]

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[4] The details of the church building plans, finances, consecration services, etc., are secured from *A Brief History of the United Brethren's Congregation at Lititz, Pa.*, by the Rev. Samuel Reinke, published 1857; and *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Penna.*, by Francis P. Hart; published for the Centennial celebration in 1887.

CHAPTER VII

Cross Currents (1787-1818)

After the close of the Revolutionary War, the Lititz Congregation, in common with the Moravian Church in America as a whole, entered upon a period of conflicting tendencies. The spirit of independence engendered by the war led to a desire for self-expression. At the same time, the Church leaders in Europe, who still ruled the destinies of the congregations in this country, became more arbitrary, not only in their dictation in matters of doctrine and church discipline, but in their control of the every-day life of the members, by the most minute regulations.[1]

Increasingly was this true after the General Synod of 1801, which failed to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials in its effort to repress any attempts at initiative on the part of individuals or congregations. Losing sight of the great mission the church long ago had set for itself, of furthering the unity of all true believers, it failed to adapt itself to changing conditions, clinging to external forms and practices which, in many cases, had outlived their usefulness.[2]

The result of these conflicting trends was stagnation, or even retrogression.[3] This was manifested in lack of growth of the church in America at a time when it had every incentive to grow; and in ingrown institutionalism which continued to hold itself aloof from outsiders, in Church Settlements such as Lititz.

In consequence of these conditions, there is little of lasting importance noted in the Lititz church records during the last decade of the Eighteenth Century and the first two decades of the Nineteenth. As stated by an unnamed translator of some of these records, "It was a period of transition; a change from the old times to the new; characterized by a tenacious clinging to earlier customs and regulations that belonged to the past, on the one hand, and an indifference or opposition to them on the other. Financially, the community was, on the whole, not prospering;

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[1] *History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton—p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*—pp. 297, 298.

[3] *Ibid.*—pp. 254, 255, and 318.

business being depressed, as was the case throughout the whole country."[4]

One of the reasons for the slow growth of the church in Lititz and elsewhere, was the insistence of the Central Authorities on the use of the lot for determining admission into Church membership, in addition to the most careful scrutiny of the character and motives of the applicant.

Several entries in the minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium* in Lititz in 1803 show the procedure that was followed. A candidate was first examined by *Collegium* to make sure of his sincerity, and to find out whether his outward circumstances were such that he would be a desirable addition to the community. If he met these requirements, he was given the rules to read. Then followed an examination into his character by the Elders' Conference; and, if that proved satisfactoroy, his name was submitted to the lot, to ascertain the Saviour's approval or disapproval. If the lot were favorable, the applicant signed the rules in token of his willingness to obey them, and was received into the congregation. It is evident that by this time, however, the negation of the lot was not considered too serious a barrier if other conditions were satisfactory; because a name could be submitted a second time after the lapse of a few months, when the outcome might be propitious.

Congregations were also required to employ the lot in the decision of many other internal matters, such as confirming the election of officers and Board members, delegates to Synod, etc.; and, what probably concerned the average member most intimately, in the choice of a life partner, in marriage. This last requirement was removed in 1818, and the compulsory use of the lot in other matters was gradually restricted more and more, until it was finally abandoned entirely.[5]

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[4] *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—p. 200.

[5] The use of the lot in the Moravian Church goes back to the very beginning of the Unitas Fratrum, when, in 1465, it was employed, after earnest prayer, by the followers of Hus, to determine whether or not they should break away entirely from the Roman Church, and institute a ministerial order of their own. Their first ministers, one of whom was afterwards consecrated a bishop, through the Waldensians,

Much of the time and attention of the *Aufseher Collegium,* during these years, seems to have been taken up with the renting of meadow and house lots; authorizing the building of houses; supervising the renting and selling of them; advice and oversight in the settling of estates; adjusting of boundary disputes and other misunderstandings; regulating competition, etc.; as well as supervising schools; regulating social practices; and assisting the Elders' Conference in Church discipline.

One item in this connection is hard to comprehend today. On December 20th, 1802, we read:

> "It was reported that often recently it has been noticed that the young brethren go walking with the boys; and play with them. We hold this as an unseemly matter, out of which much disorder comes; and Brother Loeffler was appointed to remind them of it."

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were also chosen by lot. (*History of the Unitas Fratrum*—deSchweinitz—pp. 131, 133.)

This practice, of course, was derived from the Scriptures. In the Old Testament there are numerous instances of the use of the lot to decide questions of all kinds. The Apostles also employed the lot to choose a successor to Judas. (*Acts* 1:26)

In the Renewed Church, Zinzendorf, from his early youth was zealous in his use of the lot. It was resorted to in the formative years of the Renewed Church, 1727 and 1728, in order to ascertain and follow the Saviour's will, rather than to rely on the wise counsel of any man. Its use in marriages was introduced into Herrnhut in 1741. It had never been claimed that the Lord *must* rule His church through this means, but only that He *does* thus manifest His will. Yet in 1769, the General Synod adopted a set of rules making mandatory the use of the lot for many purposes. (*History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton, pp. 116, 217) By 1782 requests were made for the curtailment of its use. But, while the Synod decided to discontinue the lot in regard to the handling of property, it continued it for marriages, and added its requirement for church membership. (*Ibid.* p. 232) In 1784 exceptions were permitted in its use in marriage in all congregations except Settlements. (*Ibid.* p. 234) The Synod of 1818, after hearing the request of American members for more freedom in many lines in handling local matters, at last agreed to drop the use of the lot in all marriages in America (*Ibid.* pp. 319, 335, 336); but it was retained in connection with admission to church membership till 1848 (*History of the Moravian Church*—J. E. Hutton—p. 437). It was not till 1889, that the required use of the lot was discontinued entirely for all purposes (*History of the Moravian Church*—J. T. Hamilton—"Errata")

A more understandable entry, but one that shows the minuteness of their supervision, is that of February 14th, 1803:

> "It was reported that Lehnert complained that boys gave him insulting names, and called out when they went by his house. We believe it will be necessary to admonish them for it."

The behaviour of the boys seems to have given the Church Fathers much concern. In 1814 their bad behaviour in congregation meetings was laid to the laxness of their school teacher, Brother Christian Schropp, who had served in that capacity for more than twenty years, and had become old and decrepit. For several years *Collegium* had been trying to secure a young man in his place. Several requests to become the new teacher had been made to John Beck, a young shoemaker who seemed to have a way with children. But, fearing he had not sufficient education, he had repeatedly refused. At last a petition signed by all the parents broke down his resistance, and in 1815 he took over the school. Five years later he was persuaded to accept pupils from other places, and in the years that followed, his academy attained national reputation.[6]

The girls' school building, vacated in 1771, was sold in 1776 to Dr. Adolph Meyer, who occupied it during the Revolutionary War years. He died in 1781, and six years afterwards the congregation bought the building back from his heirs. The naïve explanation of the reason for the re-purchase was "that we can control the future residents there. It is too near the Sisters' House and according to our plan the unnecessary in and out-going of single brethren must be avoided. The congregation owning it will have the freedom to rent it to someone who has no particular connection with single brethren."

After the war, the girls' school grew steadily. By 1790 there were twelve pupils. In 1794 the first non-Moravian pupil was admitted as a boarder, which opened up a broader avenue of usefulness. In 1804, the school, which for the past few years had been taxing the capacity of the Sisters' House, was moved back into the re-purchased school building, which had been enlarged

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[6] *Valedictory Letter of John Beck—Historical and Pictorial Lititz—* p. 43 ff.

and renovated to accommodate the twenty-four pupils and six teachers.[7]

There were a few other happenings of more than immediate interest during these years. In 1792 a night watchman was appointed; for there had been a good bit of thieving in the neighborhood, and even an attempt at robbing the store. The watchman went on duty at 10:00 in the evening, and after midnight called the hours. If there were a body in the *Leichen-Kapelle* or corpse-chapel, which had been built the same year as the church (for the purpose of housing the bodies of departed members till the funeral), the watchman was expected to look in several times during the night, lest harm come to it.

Ever vigilant against fire, Lititz purchased the first fire engine (hand operated) in Neuwied, Germany, in 1793; it was paid for by public subscription. *Collegium* was relieved of some of its responsibility in this respect by its authorizing the organization, in 1813, of a Fire Company. The latter evidently drew up quite elaborate rules, which were submitted to *Collegium* and received its approval after several suggested amendments had been made.

In 1801, the clock in the church steeple was purchased, to replace a large sundial that stood in the square. With only one major overhauling in 1867, the clock has ticked away the minutes, and rung out the hours and quarter-hours ever since.

On August 13th, 1806, the congregation celebrated the Semi-Centennial Jubilee of the founding of the Settlement, in 1756. It was a full day, from the playing of the trombones at 5:00 in the morning, till the final thanksgiving service in the evening.

The orchestra organized in the Brethren's House by Bernard Adam Grubé probably reached its height of proficiency about 1791. By that time it comprised a number of well-trained musicians, and was under the leadership of the highly accomplished violinist, George Godfrey Mueller. A proof of its far-reaching reputation is the fact that on May 29th of that year, the Hon. John Randolph, ex-Governor of Virginia and Attorney General of the United States, who spent the night in *Zum Anker* Inn at

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[7] *Linden Hall 1746-1921*—H. H. Beck, p. 8; and *Moravian Church Diary*

Lititz, en route to Philadelphia, expressed a desire to hear the Brethren's music. Brother Mueller had gone to Lancaster, but was sent for posthaste so that a complimentary concert might be given in honor of the distinguished gentleman that evening.[8]

The first village band was organized in 1810; and on July 4th, 1811, it played for the first recorded Independence Day celebration in the newly-laid-out park at the Springs. Thereby the musicians called down upon themselves the disapproval of *Collegium,* not only for "making merry" at the Springs and "greatly disturbing the village late into the night," but, what was worse, associating themselves with the neighboring military company which paraded here during the day. This was the first of a practically unbroken series of annual Fourth-of-July celebrations in our park, a record that is probably not exceeded anywhere in the country.[9]

One of the things that caused the Brethren no little concern was the State requirement of militia service, in which they, as non-combatants, were not permitted by the Church Authorities in Europe, to allow their young men to participate. This came to the fore periodically in the years following the Revolution, with the tightening or relaxing of the law. They took up a freewill offering to pay the fines that were imposed for failure to drill; and so leave no excuse for doing so. An effort was also made to secure exemption from militia duty, but to no avail. Especially in the later years, some of the young men repeatedly broke the rule of the Church; and *Collegium* held a session after each training day, to consider infractions. Finally, in the General Synod of 1818, relief came by the revision of the enactment of the church on the subject; and this matter ceased to trouble the brethren.

This gradual relaxation of centrol control was an indication of changing conditions. The Settlement, which had been begun with so much enthusiasm as a haven in the wilderness for the spiritually-minded, was beginning to be conscious of its own peculiari-

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[8] *Lititz as an Early Musical Center*—H. H. Beck—Lancaster County Historical Society publication XIX, pp. 15, 71

[9] The candle illumination in connection with the Independence Day celebration was begun in 1843.

ties in the eyes of outsiders who had been progressing with the growing Republic in their ideas of material advancement.

This is evident from an entry of December 30th, 1816, in the *Collegium* minutes, which reads:

> "Since in the festival days, according to custom, strangers are allowed to go through the Sisters' House, who come, in large part, out of curiosity or inquisitiveness; so that afterwards they may have derision over our management; so Brother Levering was commissioned to speak with the workers of the Single Sisters, that they see to it that on such occasions, and also if any kind of a *putz* (Christmas display) was to be seen, nobody except only such who are here for a visit to their friends, would be guided about."

Both Brethren's and Sisters' Houses, by this time, were beginning to outlive their usefulness; and were becoming liabilities as financial organizations. In June, 1815, there was a deficit of over $400 for the past year in the Brethren's House finances, and the prospect was for a larger loss the next year. Eighteen months dragged by, however, and the deficit had mounted to $8,173.99, before the house was definitely closed, on June 7, 1818. Some of the Brethren's House industries were given up; the congregation took over the rest, and also assumed the debt. This was the first definite step towards the breaking up of Settlement life.

(The writer has been greatly assisted in assembling the data from the *Collegium* minutes used in this and the following chapter, by a thesis presented to Cornell University for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, by the late Alice Haverstick Bricker, in 1898, on the subject, *An Examination of the Records of the Aufseher Collegium of the Community at Lititz, Pennsylvania, from 1802 to 1844*. In this thesis, Miss Bricker has assembled, under various headings, pertinent entries from the *Aufseher Collegium* minutes. While these entries are still in the original German, her arrangement of the subject matter and her comments on the various phases of community life covered in the thesis, have been of great help in understanding the development of the periods under consideration. This, and various translations from the church diaries, have been the sources, except as otherwise credited, of the facts of these chapters).

CHAPTER VIII

The Last Years of the Lease System (1818-1855)

During the remaining years of the Closed Settlement, changes came slowly and almost imperceptibly. The late Louise A. Weitzel, a lifelong member of the Lititz Congregation, in an article published in one of the local newspaper in 1926, describes her mother's recollections of the Village of Lititz between the years 1828 and 1838. Judging from this description, there was little change from Revolutionary days, except that a few more houses had been built. There were now about 48 dwellings compared to 18 in 1778.[1] There was still but one street—the present Main Street; but by this time it was shaded by fine trees planted on both sides, the branches meeting overhead; and was lighted by fat lamps, which, however, evidently gave very poor light, for it was necessary to carry lanterns to go to church; for a short service was still held every evening. The houses had the same primitive heating and lighting arrangements as in the old days.

Most of the householders, at this time, kept boarders: either the out-of-town pupils of John Beck, or apprentices; for every man had his trade, and every tradesman had a number of boys who were apprenticed to him and lived in his home.

The street, and even the Church Square, still "walked full" of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats and geese,[2] which roamed at will; the goats, and probably some of the other live stock often taking refuge from the noonday heat under the front steps leading into the houses.

Miss Weitzel's excellent character sketches of the residents of the village at that time show that they had the same failings—and virtues—as the people of today. They were, perhaps, more interested in the affairs of their neighbors than now, both for good and ill; because in so small a community, the business of one was the concern of all.

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[1] Letter of Bishop Ettwein, dated March 25, 1778. See *John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period*—K. G. Hamilton—*Transactions* of the Moravian Historical Society, Vol. XII, Parts III and IV, p. 271.

[2] See also *Aufseher Collegium* minutes of June 11, 1822.

There is evidence, however, that they were also concerned, as the Congregation has always been, in the missionary work of the church; for in 1822 the Women's Missionary Society was organized.

The fiftieth anniversary of the building of the church was celebrated in 1837, not only by special services on August 13th, but by a certain amount of interior renovation and repair—among other things, the installation of a pulpit[3] to take the place of the table covered with a black cloth, which was used previously for that purpose.

The two side galleries were reached by inside stairways. The bell rope hung back of the organ on the west gallery. There were high-backed, movable benches. The windows were of plain glass with white curtains. There was no carpet and the room was heated by two stoves, and lighted by a tin chandelier hung from the center of the ceiling and equipped with twelve tallow candles. There were also candles along the walls and pillars. Later, sperm oil lamps were used for some of the lighting.[4]

The carpetless floor must have amplified all noise; and, with the heavy shoes of the boys, there was probably some excuse for a part, but not all, of the indecorum complained of by *Collegium* on June 24, 1822:

> "The young people do not behave well in church. The older Brethren and Sisters set a bad example, especially the Sisters, as they talk together after the service has begun. *Collegium* also wished very much that the boys would be more orderly in going into and out of church, as they often are very noisy."

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[3] The *Authentic History of Lancaster County*, by Mombert, p. 382, mentions that a pulpit was placed in the church in 1837. According to hearsay, this pulpit was at the east end of the church (for there was no pulpit recess at that time). The probability of its being so located is supported by certain circumstantial evidence, although the writer can find no definite written verification of this point. If this is correct, the pulpit was probably in front of, and somewhat lower than, the east gallery; for both galleries have been in the church since it was built.

[4] Article by L. A. Wetzel, published 1926. Also *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Penna.*—F. P. Hart—p. 39.

English was first used in church services in 1832; when the Elders' Conference and *Collegium* agreed to allow the litany to be prayed "occasionally" in that tongue, so that "our English young people who live among us" (probably the school boys and girls) "can join." From then on, its use gradually became more frequent; until not only the litany, but "English preaching" was held occasionally, and then monthly. By 1874, all evening services, and the morning services on alternate Sundays, were in English; but even at the close of the Nineteenth Century, "German preaching" was still held once every three weeks; then once in six weeks; until it was finally discontinued in 1913. It was not until 1918 that German was dropped entirely in all services; for it was retained in afternoon Communion after its use in other meetings had ended.

The year following the Jubilee celebration—on July 16th, 1838—about noon, a disastrous fire broke out in the village, following a long dry spell. It was soon out of control, and in a short time destroyed four dwellings, two barns and a number of out-buildings. One of the dwellings was the former Warwick *Gemeinhaus,* then standing opposite the church, which since about 1800 had no longer been used for school purposes. The girls' school building was also ignited; but the blaze was extinguished before serious damage had been done to it. That same year a new fire company was organized, and a second engine purchased; for the conflagration had shown the necessity for better fire protection.[5]

After 1800, the industries, which from the beginning of the Settlement had been conducted by the Congregation Diacony, gradually became unprofitable, as did those taken over from the Brethren's House. Often the man who had been appointed to operate an industry was incompetent, and sometimes even dishonest; but, because he was a member of the church, those in

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[5] *A Brief History of the United Brethren's Congregation of Lititz, Pa.*—Samuel Reinke—Published 1857—p. 13. Also *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—pp. 200 and 209.

This engine and the first one purchased—both, of the hand-pumped type—are still in existence and are on display at the home office of the Lititz Mutual Insurance Company, in Lititz. They are the property of the Moravian Congregation.

authority hesitated to replace him until the industry was in such bad financial condition that it was imperative either to find a new manager or close the business. In addition, the growth of private enterprise in the new country, with its profit incentive, presented a type of competition that could not be successfully met by communal methods.

The store seems to have posed the biggest problem. It had been poorly managed, and could not supply the things people needed: so that they had been going out of town to make their purchases. Consequently when in 1828, Matthias Tshudy and his son Jacob applied to *Collegium* for permission to start a second store on their own account, it was decided to grant their request, in the hope that in this way the money that was being carried elsewhere by the church members might at least be kept in the village. The Tshudys agreed to pay $125 annually for three years to the congregation, so as not to impair the yearly income of the Diacony.

By 1831, the *Congregation* store was getting into such bad condition that an investigation was ordered by the Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem. The store-keeper, the black sheep of a fine family, was spoken to on several occasions over a period of four years; and then, on the pretext of ill-health, he left Lititz, first for Bethlehem, and finally for parts unknown. A real investigation was then made; it showed that he had falsified the books and had absconded—a fact that caused a seven-day-scandal in the village, for he had been highly respected.

The store was then put in charge of another brother, who was honest, but wholly incompetent; and, by 1844, a deficit of $1400 had accumulated. Finally, on August 25th, 1845, the congregation sold the business to Nathanial Wolle; who, with his son, Robert, operated it for many years, as a private enterprise; until it was eventually discontinued.

The tavern also gave *Collegium* no little trouble. Accounts were poorly kept, and each year its deficit increased. At last, on December 26th, 1826, they rented it to an outsider. While it changed hands several times, there was no more difficulty with it; probably because the Church Fathers did not feel called upon to exercise the same leniency towards one outside the church that they

felt obligated to show to a member. In 1854, they sold the property to Samuel Lichtenthaeler.

The Sisters' House prospered until 1829; and then it, too, began to operate at a loss. On July 5th, 1844, it was decided to close the Sisters' House Economy and allow the Management of the Girls' School to take over the farm and kitchen.

Of all the congregation enterprises, only the Girls' School continued to prosper. While it had its periods of depression, it was always well managed; and, from 1841 onwards, the *Collegium* bestowed annual votes of praise on those in charge, for the material help it gave the congregation.

The school was given the name "Linden Hall" in 1844, by the Rev. Eugene Frueauff, the Principal at that time, who had planted the row of linden trees that still shades the buildings from the afternoon sun.[6]

John Beck's school, from a small beginning, prospered beyond all expectations. After 1818, it was no longer under the care of the church, but was run by Mr. Beck as a private institution. By 1822 it had outgrown its primitive quarters in an abandoned blacksmith shop. The old building was torn down and replaced by a two-story brick building. The school occupied the room on the first floor. A large room on the second floor was known as "Concert Hall;" for there were several musical organizations in the village that made use of it. A second band had been organized in 1820; and a Philharmonic Society, composed of excellent musicians, functioned from 1815 to 1845.[7] Occasionally, entertainments and concerts were given here by traveling companies also.[8]

About 1832, Mr. Beck engaged several extra teachers and used a room in the former Brethren's House in addition to his school building. The rest of the Brethren's House furnished living quarters for private families at that time;[9] but as the school grew, it took up more and more of this building until the whole was used,

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[6] *Linden Hall 1746-1921*—H. H. Beck—p. 14.

[7] *Lititz as an Early Musical Center*—H. H. Beck—Publication of Lancaster County Historical Society—Vol. XIX, 1915, p. 71.

[8] Article by L. A. Weitzel, Published 1926.

[9] Ibid.

not only for classes, but for boarding the older pupils. An addition to the brick Academy building was also built.[10]

In line with the progress of education among the young people in both schools, was the organization of a Sunday School in 1846, by Bishop Peter Wolle, Pastor at that time. His son, Nathaniel, assisted in the organization and was Treasurer and Librarian until 1855, when he took over the Superintendency.[11]

Probably the larger contacts with people of the outside world, through the pupils of the two schools and their parents and friends, had much to do with the growing dissatisfaction felt by many of the members with the restricted community life of the village. The Settlement System had lost the vitality of the early years; strong pressure was beginning to be felt for its abolition, together with the "Lease System" dependent upon it.

According to this "Lease System," all the land, as in other Moravian Settlements, was owned by the Unity, or the Moravian Church at large, not by individuals, or even by the congregation. Members were permitted to build their own houses on the land, for which they paid land rent into the congregation treasury.

Since some of the more conservative members still favored the retention of the old system, there was much discord and dissention for several years. Some of the members refused to partake of Communion while the conflict lasted.[12]

The fact that the industrial enterprises had been unprofitable and were causing so much trouble, was also, undoubtedly, a large contributing factor to the final decision to do away altogether with the Congregation Diacony and the Lease System. This decision, with the advice and consent of the higher Church authorities, was reached at a Congregation Council held July 23rd, 1855. On November 7th of that year, a Charter of Incorporation, which had been prepared, was adopted by Council; and a Board of Trustees was elected, according to its provisions. The Charter

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[10] *Valedictory Letter of John Beck*—Historical and Pictorial Lititz, pp. 49, 50 and 51.

[11] Personal diaries of Bishop Peter Wolle, and an anonymous manuscript account of the early history of the Sunday School.

[12] *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Penna.*—Hart—pp. 45 and 46. Also Personal Diary of Peter Wolle.

was granted by the Court on January 21, 1856. Under its terms, the new corporation was given the name, "The Congregation of the United Brethren of Litiz and its Vicinity;"[13] a title which, in 1887, was changed to "The Moravian Congregation of Lititz."[14] Later the word "Pa." was added.

Thus ended a century of theocratic communal living, which, especially in its early years, had served successfully its day and generation.

CHAPTER IX

The Church in an Expanding Community (1855-1899)

Upon the incorporation of the Lititz Congregation, in January, 1856, a committee was appointed to draw up a new set of rules; for, with the abolition of the Lease System, the regulations relating to the handling of property and the conduct of business had become obsolete. The new rules were unanimously adopted at a Congregation Council convened on March 14th, 1856. In May the terms were decided upon by which the property formerly held by the Diacony of the Lititz Congregation was to be divided between the congregation and the Administrator of the Unity.[1] These terms, having been approved by the Provincial Elders' Conference, Lititz ceased to be an exclusive settlement, and non-Moravians were permitted to live and own property, in the village.

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[13] Introduction to *Principles and Discipline of the United Brethren's (Moravian) Congregation at Litiz, Pa.*—Edition of 1856.

[14] *Rules, Ordinances and Charter of the Moravian Congregation at Lititz, Pa.*—Edition of 1887.

[1] Philip H. Goepp was the Administrator at this time. He had received this and other property held in the name of the Unity (which was unincorporated) from his predecessor in office; who had received it from *his* predecessor; and so on back to Timothy Horsefield, to whom George Klein had deeded his farm. (See Note 2, Chapter II of this History) Goepp transferred the Lititz land to "The Congregation of the United Brethren of Litiz and its Vicinity," which, in turn, sold lots to private individuals.

On March 1st, 1857, the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of the Ancient *Unitas Fratrum* (Moravian Church) was celebrated in Lititz.

The same year extensive alterations and renovations were made to the church building. The present pulpit recess and the vestibule, with its winding stairways leading to the galleries and to the garret, were built; and the pitch of the roof was changed to harmonize with the altered outward appearance. The old interior stairways could be removed, and more room was provided in the church proper. The present cushioned, stationary pews replaced the old movable benches; the floor was carpeted; and the tallow candles and sperm oil lamps gave place to coal oil chandeliers and wall lamps, which were then the latest in lighting equipment. Dedicatory services for the remodeled building were held December 20th and 21st.

The Ladies' Sewing Society had been organized the previous year (1856) to help raise money for the church improvements. Their work through the years has been mostly in the Home Missionary field, and in supporting local church renovation projects.

In the War Between the States, Moravians were no longer held back by Church regulations; and many are the flags that fly over the graves of Civil War veterans in our God's Acre.

The burning of the bridge over the Susquehanna River at Columbia by Union troops, on June 27, 1863, to prevent further advance of the Southern armies into Northern territory, was the closest that actual conflict came to Lititz. On that occasion streams of refugees, who feared invasion of their homes, fled northward through the village, with wagons laden with their belongings. Providentially the tide of war was turned by the decisive battle of Gettysburg, a few days later.

In May, 1864, the Sewing Society formed itself into "The Ladies' Commission of Litiz and Vicinity," an auxiliary of the United States Christian Commission, as their contribution to the Union Cause. The fifty-three members met to scrape lint and make bandages and other hospital supplies. During that summer they made up some 200 quarts of blackberries into jam and syrup, and solicited dried fruit, applebutter, onions—"anything and everything that can be spared for the use of the soldiers." They also

gave more than $700 in cash, and received many letters of praise and thanks for "their noble work," from the Christian Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission, to which they had likewise sent supplies.[2]

On April 19th, 1865, special services were held in the Church to pay tribute to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, who had died four days before, less than a week after Lee's surrender and the close of the war.

Handling the crowds for the Christmas Eve lovefeast and candle service seems to have been an ever-recurring problem. As early as 1802, *Collegium* made the rule that only members might attend this service, for "so many strangers always come and only make a disturbance thereby." In 1831 they resolved anew to enforce this "long established rule" which evidently had been somewhat laxly adhered to. In 1856 and 1857 the new Board of Elders went so far as to drop the lovefeast portion of the service for the same reason. By 1858, however, demand for the restoration of the lovefeast was too strong, and the complete service was held once more; but the Elders waited till December 20th to announce its resumption, and the church doors were kept locked till a half-hour before time to begin the service. In 1870, for the first time, they tried the expedient of using tickets for admission.

All through the Nineteenth Century, and well into the Twentieth, the Watchnight service on December 31st, was just as popular, and just as crowded, as the one on Christmas Eve. In recent years, however, secular ideas of "seeing the New Year in," have unfortunately reversed the Church's problem in regard to this service.

The matter of providing an organist and seeing that a choir was trained and on hand for special occasions, especially Christmas, seems to have given the new Board of Elders considerable difficulty. In both 1861 and 1862, Brother Abraham Beck was appealed to in November, to get up a choir for Christmas; and each time he came to the rescue. The organist at that time, Brother William ("Billy") Hall, while an excellent clock-maker, and, no doubt, a good musician, had a natural weakness for strong

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[2] Minutes of "The Ladies' Commission of Litiz and Vicinity."

drink, and could not be depended upon to be at his place at the console of the organ for all services. Finally, in 1863, he had to be deposed as organist, and suspended from church membership on account of this failing. Brother Beck was prevailed upon to take over the organ for a few years for Sunday services, some of the ladies of the congregation volunteering to play the reed organ for the week-day meetings in the (Old) Chapel. In 1876, Brother S. Fred Van Vleck became church organist and since then no serious problem seems to have arisen.

In 1879, a new Hook and Hastings organ replaced the old Tannenberg instrument, which had served the congregation since the erection of the church.

From time to time after the installation of stationary pews, different sections of the church were assigned for the seating of the various groups of members. The Linden Hall girls had the eastern section, and the John Beck school boys the western. These blocks were shared, respectively, by the Single Sisters and the Single Brethren of the congregation, most of the center block being reserved for family groups; for the commendable habit of bringing the children along to church was urged upon the parents.

Both the schools were in thriving condition by the middle of the Nineteenth Century. In 1857, the Sisters' House was once more made a part of Linden Hall.[3] A few of the older Sisters still lived on in some of the rooms, until the last one, Sister Sabina ("Bina") Muecke, died in 1896.[4] The School was incorporated in 1863, when its name "Linden Hall Seminary" became official. It went through periods of depression in the 1890's and early 1900's; but now has more pupils than ever before in its history, and a long waiting list. The school plant is thoroughly modernized. The institution is no longer under the direct management of the church, but of a Board of Trustees responsible to Synod.

In 1865, John Beck retired, after fifty years as a teacher of

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[3] *Linden Hall 1746-1921*—H. H. Beck, p. 14.

[4] *Moravian Graveyards of Lititz, Pa.*—A. R. Beck—Publication of the Moravian Historical Society—p. 315.

boys. His academy had become known from Coast to Coast; and during that period more than 2,000 pupils from all walks of life had felt the inspired influence of his personality.[5] The school was continued for about twenty years longer under two of his teachers, Ferdinand Rickert and George W. Hepp. His son, Abraham Beck, conducted "Beck's Family School" from 1865 to 1895.[6]

"Sunnyside College," for girls, had a brief existence from 1862 to 1878.[7] For its use, the Principal, the Rev. Theodore Bechler, erected the three-story brick building which replaced the *Pilgerhaus*.[8] This school was greatly objected to by the Provincial Elders' Conference, because of its possible injury to Linden Hall, but the competition between the two had the opposite effect.

In 1880, Gen. John A. Sutter died, and, while he was not a member of the Moravian Church, his body was given a place of honor in our graveyard. After his land in California had been taken from him by gold seekers, he had spent the last years of his life in Lititz, whence he made frequent trips to Washington, in a fruitless attempt to recover damages.[9]

In 1881 a Union Memorial Service, with the Evangelical (now the Trinity Evangelical Congregational) Church, was held in memory of James A. Garfield. This was the first of many union services with the other churches of Lititz. The Evangelical Congregation had been begun here in 1872, and at this time it was the only other church in town. By 1887, when the first Union Week of Prayer services were held, the Lutheran Congregation was also included, for it had been established two years before.[10] From then on to the present day union Week of Prayer and

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[5] *Valedictory Letter of John Beck—Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—p. 56.

[6] *The Lititz Schools—Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—p. 211.

[7] Ibid. p. 211.

[8] At 125-129 East Main Street.

[9] *A Chronological History of Lititz—Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—pp. 202, 203.

[10] *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*, p. 20.

Thanksgiving services have been the rule, with some deviations from time to time.

The Women's Missionary Society celebrated its Fiftieth Anniversary in 1872, and this celebration seems to have been the impulse for a wave of missionary activity that swept the congregation for the next two decades, the effects of which are still felt.

In 1874 the Men's Missionary Society was organized. Two years later sixteen of the older boys formed themselves into a Juvenile Missionary Society that made contributions to the work of the older group. Some years after this, the Juvenile Society was either reorganized, or a new one formed to include girls in its membership.

A fresh impetus was given to the movement in 1887, when Miss Mary Huber, a member of the Lititz Congregation, went as a missionary to Alaska.[11] The same year, the Ladies' Mite Society was organized, for the purpose of raising at least $100 annually for the Alaska Mission. The Society is still active, and there have been very few years that it failed to reach its quota. Whenever more than $100 was raised, the Society contributed also to General Foreign Missions.

The year 1887 also saw the formation of the "Four Leaf Clover" Society, a group of four little boys aged eleven and twelve years, who, catching the spirit of the time, banded themselves together to raise money for missions. This unique society continued for about five years, till the boys reached maturity and left town. During that period they raised no inconsiderable sums for missionary causes.

The Christian Endeavor movement reached Lititz in 1889, and a Young People's Society got off to a vigorous start. In 1894 the Juvenile Missionary Society was merged into a Junior Christian Endeavor Society, and in 1896 an Intermediate Society was formed.

With various reorganizations, the Christian Endeavor Societies provided spiritual nurture for the youth of the congre-

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[11] Her sister, Emma Huber, who later became Mrs. Samuel Rock, followed her to that field in 1890.

gation till about 1938, when they were absorbed by the Moravian and interdenominational Young People's Groups. The Moravian "Youth Fellowship" is now a close counterpart, in many respects, of the Christian Endeavor movement.

The Brethren's House, having been vacated by the boys' school, was renovated in 1883, and a large wing added in the rear, for a Sunday School building. Up to that time the school had been meeting in the Church and the Old Chapel. The completed Sunday School building was dedicated in 1884.

The Mary Dixon Memorial Chapel at Linden Hall, was built the same year. Also in 1884, the new cemetery, where non-Moravians might be buried, was opened, to the south of the graveyard. This was enlarged in 1918, and again in 1933, when an entrance was opened to Cedar Street.

In 1887, the Centennial of the church building was celebrated. The building was painted, and new carpet and pulpit furniture installed. We are told that the painter, Isaac Habecker, after the regilded ball on the steeple had been put in position, "stood on the steeple" and sang, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," a sentiment that was probably echoed in the hearts of the congregation. A two-day celebration was held on August 13th and 14th (Saturday and Sunday) of that year, with services morning, afternoon and evening, on both days.[12]

In connection with the Centennial celebration, a Centennial Society was organized, which continued till near the end of the century. It sponsored a number of cultural programs, and by means of them and other activities, raised money for various improvements to the church and premises.

In this same year, 1887, the Charter of the Congregation was amended to permit the forming of separate Boards of Elders and Trustees. Ever since the incorporation of the congregation, one Board had fulfilled both these functions.

Cathedral glass windows were installed in the church in 1888, and in 1892 the coal oil lights were replaced by acetylene gas, in church, chapel and parsonage.

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[12] *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Penna.*—Hart—p. 13-34.

The Borough of Lititz was incorporated in 1888. Since the abolition of the Lease System, the population had grown from about 350 to more than 1500. New streets had been opened, new buildings and new industries, as well as new churches, had come into being. Within a few years water and electric lights were introduced into the Borough (1893); a trolley line was built connecting Lititz with Lancaster (1895), and the primitive conditions of the old Settlement were fast disappearing.[13]

On October 21st, 1892, the Four Hundredth Anniversary of the discovery of America was commemorated by exercises in the public schools and a mass meeting in our church in the afternoon, in which the pastors of all the churches participated.

The Sunday School marked its Fiftieth Anniversary on February 23, 1896. At that time, Nathaniel S. Wolle retired as Superintendent, after fifty years of services to the Sunday School, and the office was taken over by his successor, George L. Hepp.

In September, 1898, a Provincial Synod was held in the Lititz Church, during which the Pastor, Charles L. Moench, was consecrated a Bishop. He was the eighth Bishop to serve the congregation. A ninth, Bishop Crosland, served at a later date, and four of the other Lititz pastors became bishops after leaving here.

The Sesqui-Centennial celebration of the organization of the Lititz Congregation was held September 10th and 11th, 1899. It was participated in by all the former pastors then living: the Revs. Edward T. Kluge and Charles L. Nagel, and Bishop C. L. Reinke. Other men of note also delivered addresses during the two-day celebration.

During the years the congregation had also been growing steadily numerically, so that by the end of its third half century, it numbered 651 souls, of whom 435 were communicants. It had almost doubled since the abandonment of the Lease System.

The period, therefore, ended on a note of optimism and in a spirit of community cooperation.

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[13] Ibid. p. 39; and *Historical and Pictorial Lititz*—pp. 205, 206.

CHAPTER X

The Last Fifty Years (1899-1949)

During the last fifty years of its history, the Lititz Congregation celebrated no less than ten centennials, semi-, sesqui-, bi-, and multiple- centennials, in addition to the 1900th anniversary of Pentecost, in 1930, noted by all Christendom. Some of these were strictly Lititz anniversaries, and others were of interest to all Moravians.

The first such event was the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Count Zinzendorf, celebrated May 27th, 1900; it resulted directly in the organization, just ten days later, of the "Zinzendorf Brotherhood," a men's prayer group that met weekly, and continued for nearly forty years. Its purpose was personal spiritual culture, helping the weaker brother, and stretching out a hand to the unsaved. An Ushers Association was organized in 1915, and the two organizations were merged about 1938.

Beginning in 1902 and continuing well into the 1930's, the congregation held a series of evangelistic services practically every year. They usually took place in January and February, and lasted two or three weeks, or even longer; sometimes with the help of the Provincial, or of an outside, Evangelist. Especially in the later years, the other churches of Lititz often joined in these services, although the meetings were usually held in the Sunday School Chapel. Some years an additional series, or a series of Bible Readings under some noted Bible teacher, was held in the fall, as a union undertaking.

Probably the climax of these evangelistic efforts was reached in 1915, when the meetings lasted four weeks. This was a union undertaking. The Rev. Dr. Thomas H. Needham, who had formerly been associated with Dwight L. Moody and J. Wilbur Chapman in revival work, was secured as the evangelist. He was assisted by the singer, Mr. H. L. Litchfield. The latter organized a chorus of fifty voices, and a committee of personal workers was formed. More than 160 converts were won, among them ten of the Linden Hall pupils.

After the close of the meetings, cards signed by the converts were distributed among the personal workers for purposes of general visitation, and then were turned over to the church of each convert's choice. On Palm Sunday of that year, ninety-nine new communicants were added to our membership. They occupied the entire center block of pews. The church, including the galleries, and the Old Chapel (adjoining the church on the east), were filled by the congregation. Twenty-three more members were received at different times during that year, so that the gross gain was 122.

On several occasions, during this year (1915) also, parties from Lititz went elsewhere to hear famous revivalists, for this was at the height of the tide of evangelism that swept the country, producing such professional preachers as Sam Jones, Sam Small, R. A. Torrey, "Billy" Sunday, "Gipsy" Smith, and others.

One such party heard Billy Sunday in Philadelphia, and later, through the influence of Brother Horace Eshbach, a lifelong member of the Lititz Congregation, who was a personal friend of Sunday's, this noted evangelist spent part of a day in Lititz, addressing the public school children, Linden Hall, and a mass meeting in the Sunday School Chapel.

In the same year, a party of about two hundred members of this congregation went to Lancaster on four special trolley cars, to attend the Stough Evangelistic Campaign. On another occasion, "Sunny Jim" Lowe addressed a mass meeting here.

Of the later evangelistic campaigns, two are worthy of particular mention—the Newell Brothers' Campaign in 1924, and the Neighbour Campaign in 1928—both participated in by the other churches of town.

The Newell Campaign, although planned for a much longer period, came to an abrupt end after ten days, through the illness of one of the Newell brothers, which was diagnosed as small-pox. This resulted in the quarantining of the Springs Hotel, where the evangelists were staying, with all its guests; also in the closing of the churches and the public schools, the prohibiting of all public gatherings for a period of five weeks, except for a brief intermission during which several new cases developed,

and the compulsory vaccination or quarantine of everyone in town. Through the prompt and stringent action of the Board of Health, only three cases of small-pox developed, one of which was at Pine Hill, a few miles distant. There was one death, and the effects of vaccination resulted in a number of cases of serious illness.

For the Neighbour Campaign in 1928—another union project—a large tabernacle was built, by volunteer labor, on Moravian land along the Manheim Road. The campaign continued every evening for five weeks during November and December. The churches, during that period, held only morning services. This campaign had a happier ending, and the following Palm Sunday sixty-three members were received into our congregation. These, with accessions on other occasions during the year, made a total of seventy-two. In fact, nearly every year saw thirty or more added to the membership list.

The exact results of the long series of evangelistic efforts in Lititz can never be known, for many church members of all denominations were influenced for more faithful living by them, and many "lost sheep" were brought into the various folds. As in the Parable of the Sower, some of the seed fell by the wayside, some on rocky soil, and some among thorns, so that from time to time names, totaling more than 100, of nominal members who no longer showed any interest in the services or the finances of the congregation, had to be dropped from the list, and, when a thorough overhauling of the membership records was made in the beginning of 1933, it was found necessary to drop 147 more. Some of the seed, however, fell on good ground, and brought forth fruit in the changed lives of those who, as a result of the awakening, became sincere and devoted Christians.

In the mean time, on March 3rd, 1907, the 450th anniversary of the founding of the Unitas Fratrum in Lititz, Bohemia, was celebrated by appropriate services, in which hymns of the old Bohemian Brethren were used, and the annual offering for the Bohemian Mission was taken.

On Palm Sunday, April 12th, 1908, the cornerstone was laid for the Moravian Home for Aged Women, and early in September the Home was opened. The building stands on the west side

of the Church Square, on the site of the old "Lyceum Building" built by John Beck for his school. The land was donated by the Church to the Moravian Home Association, a group of women of the Congregation, who opened the Home and are running it for the benefit of aged Moravian women living in the Second District of the Northern Province of our Church.

In 1911, a troop of Boy Scouts was organized. This troop (No. 42) has continued through the years. In addition to the regular troop, there is now a Cub Pack and a Senior unit all sponsored by the Men's Bible Class. Another boys' organization of a similar type, the "Tri-Mu's" (Morals, Mind and Muscle) flourished from 1922 to 1932.

From 1912 to 1934, a rather unique series of annual services took place on the Sunday evening nearest July 6th, when the "Service in Memory of the Martyrs," was prayed on the graveyard; in connection with it twenty or thirty of the graves of the early leaders of our congregation, each year, were decorated with flowers, and a short biography of each was read.

In 1915 this service took on special significance on account of the Five Hundredth Anniversary of the martyrdom of John Hus on July 6th, 1415.

Especially during the first two decades of the present century, the Sunday School made rapid strides under the efficient Superintendency of George L. Hepp, and many adults today give credit to his thorough drills from the desk at the close of each session, for much of their knowledge of the structure and content of the Bible.

By 1921 the membership of the Sunday School was probably at its highest point, with 570 enrolled in the main school, in addition to the Home Department and the Cradle Roll—making a total membership of 700.

Rally Day was begun as early as 1901, and Teacher Training classes were held more or less regularly since 1909. These, in later years, developed into Leadership Training Schools, which are now conducted in cooperation with the other Lititz Sunday Schools.

A Sunday School Executive Committee was appointed in 1909 "to relieve the Superintendent of some of the vexing problems concerning the supply of teachers, and to attend to other emergencies."[1] This Committee continued to function till 1940, when it was changed into a "Board of Christian Education," with elective membership.

The excellent work of the orchestra "in maintaining continued interest in the sessions of the School and in cultivating a taste for good music" is repeatedly attested in the Congregation *Memorabilia* for these years.

Daily Vacation Bible Schools have been held each summer since 1923, either in connection with the other Lititz churches, or as strictly Moravian projects.

An important undertaking started by the Sunday School in 1912, and later taken up by the entire congregation, is the support of a "Missionary Pastor"—the Rev. Rufus Bishop, of Nicaragua. Brother Bishop and his wife have made frequent visits to Lititz while on furlough, and inspired an active interest in missions throughout the congregation. In late years the congregation has also supported native helpers in Nicaragua and Alaska.

The Women's Missionary Society celebrated its Centennial on November 5th, 1922. In late years, particularly, it has been very active, sending boxes annually to the Leper Home in Surinam, and to Labrador, and outfitting and paying the tuition of an orphan in the Alaska Children's Home. In the early 1930's it raised $400 to pay the cost of a chapel in Alaska, henceforth known as the "Lititz Chapel." The Men's Missionary Society celebrates its 75th Anniversary this year (1949). In addition to other activities, both societies make stated appropriations to the various missionary causes of the Church.

With the celebration of the (Fiftieth) Jubilee of the Alaska Mission in 1935, a series of annual Mission Festivals on the Linden Hall campus were held for the next seven years. The

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[1] From the *Memorabilia* of 1909. Practically all of the data for this and the preceding chapter were secured from the *Memorabilia, Church Diary* and the *Minutes* of the Boards of Elders and Trustees.

other congregations of the Central Pennsylvania and Maryland District participated in them. These festivals were a revival of an idea conceived in the 1890's, when several such festivals were held on the Spring grounds.

Beginning August 15th, 1937, the congregation celebrated another special event—the Sesqui-Centennial of the Dedication of the Church. At the morning service on that day, the building was re-dedicated, and the Pastor, the Rev. Byron K. Horne, preached a sermon on the text, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it." Ps. 118:24. This was the same text used at the original consecration in 1787, by Brother Klingsohr, pastor at that time, and by Bishop Clement Reinke, at the Centennial celebration in 1887. The same three divisions of the text used by Brother Klingsohr, and which had been preserved in the church records, were used on each of the anniversary occasions.[2] In the afternoon, a lovefeast was held for which a translation of the original psalm used in 1787 had been prepared. Communion services following the lovefeast, and again in the evening, completed the day's events. Offerings amounting to more than $800 were received to help wipe out the Foreign Mission debt of the Unity. Later in the fall—on October 27th and 28th, a historical pageant, "The Builders," written for the occasion, was presented as part of the Sesqui-Centennial celebration.

In both World Wars I and II, many of our young men (and in the Second, our young women also) served their country in the Armed Forces.

During World War II a "Red Cross Blood Bank" was conducted in our Sunday School building, under the sponsorship of the Rotary Club of Lititz. There, many of our members (including the pastor), and others in the community, some of them repeatedly, donated blood. Thus the old Brethren's House once more played its part in the service of our country during war time.

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[2] *Reminiscences of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Penna.*—F. P. Hart, pp. 9 and 17; and *Church Diary*, August 15th, 1937.

Among all the members who served in the Armed Services, only one in each of the two conflicts was called upon to make the Supreme Sacrifice: George Schnerer, in World War I, and John Francis Hagen, Jr., in World War II.

Along material lines also, the last fifty years showed much advancement, and many improvements to the church plant were made.

In 1902, the baptismal font, a memorial to Brother Henry B. Bechler, for many years an elder and church worker, was dedicated. In the same year, town water was piped into the church premises, and plumbing was introduced into the parsonage.

In 1905, a resolution granting woman's suffrage in church matters finally was passed by the Church Council. The matter had been brought up annually for thirty-nine years, but up to this time the motion had failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority. Two years later (perhaps as a result) individual communion cups were introduced into the *evening* communion services, but the use of the common cup, fermented wine, and the German language in the *afternoon* communion, persisted till 1918.

The year 1907 saw the removal of the fence which had enclosed the Square, and of the curved flagstone walk which led from Church Avenue to the entrance of the church building. This walk was replaced by the present straight cement footway leading in from Main Street. The cement pavement on the north and west sides of the Square, and in front of chapel, church and parsonage, was laid, and a porch built at the entrance of the parsonage, in place of the stone steps that were there previously.

The improvements made that year (1907) also included new light fixtures connected with the Borough gas, instead of the rather unsatisfactory acetylene gas, and a water motor for the organ, whose bellows had, up to that time been pumped by hand. This water motor, evidently, was not all that might be desired, for in less than ten months an electric motor was installed in its place.

In the year 1908, the picturesque old pump in front of the former Brethren's House was removed and replaced by a utili-

tarian hydrant in the rear of the church. The Sunday School auditorium was enlarged by adding eight feet to its length, and building a 30 x 30 ft. wing on the east, for the accommodation of the "Infant Class."

The following year, 1909, the beautiful window representing Christ blessing the little children was placed in the church and presented to the congregation in memory of John Beck, the famous school teacher, by his descendants.

The year 1912 was notable for the installation of a new Möller organ, new pulpit furniture, and combination electric and gas fixtures. The new electric lights were used for the first time on October 6th, but the gas lights were no mere appendage for some years to come, because frequently the electric power failed, and the church would otherwise have been in darkness. The failure of the organ motor was not quite so serious, for the singing was, on several such occasions, led by the trombone choir.

In 1918, two extra stops were added to the organ, and the necessary additional pipes installed.

In 1919 the idea of erecting a large new addition to the Sunday School building was first considered by the Sunday School teachers, and they pledged $500 for this project. Preliminary plans were studied, but the actual gathering of the funds did not start till 1930. In the Church Council of January 8th, 1934, it was definitely decided to build, and revised plans were adopted.[3] The old building was used for the last time on May 13th, 1934, and from that date till the opening of the new building on March 31, 1935, the Sunday School sessions were held in the Linden Hall gymnasium and the Church.

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[3] By these plans the main auditorium was enlarged; and a wing built to the East to accommodate a modern kitchen on the first floor, with Intermediate assembly and class rooms above it; and another large three-story wing to the West, providing space for a Nursery, Beginners' Department and Mothers' Room on the ground floor; Primary Department on the second; and Junior on the third floors; in addition to several extra rooms on each story for Young People's or Adult classes. Underneath the whole building is a large basement, providing ample space for recreational or other purposes.

On the opening day, the school gathered at the usual places at 9:30 in the morning. At 10:00, all assembled in the church, and from there proceeded in a body, led by the official boards, to the front entrance of the new building, where the architect presented the key to the President of the Board of Trustees, who unlocked the door. After all had assembled in the building, a service of prayer and praise was held. A lovefeast in the afternoon in the new building, and a consecration service in the evening completed the exercises of the day.

All through the following week, special services were held, including "Former Pastors' Night," with the Rev. E. S. Hagen and Bishop E. S. Crosland, the only living former pastors, as the speakers, "Community Night," "Moravian Night" and "Fellowship Night." A historical pageant, "The Torch Bearers" was also presented, which was repeated on two later evenings to accommodate the overflow audience.

The Sunday School celebrated its Centennial eleven years later, on February 10th, 1946, and by that time, through intensive efforts of Sunday School classes, Church groups, and individuals, the entire cost of the building, $77,627.72, plus interest charges, had been met, and it was possible to hold a mortgage-burning ceremony in connection with the lovefeast and dedicatory service.

A bulletin board was erected on the Square along Main Street in 1935; organ chimes were presented and dedicated the following year.

During 1943, the *Dieners* and "Coffee Cooks" undertook the redecoration of the Old Chapel, including new linoleum, new draperies, etc., and the restoration of the "Coffee Kitchen" under the parsonage. The latter was replastered, the paint was removed from the woodwork, which was given a natural wood finish, the rotted-out wooden floor was replaced by flagstones, and old light fixtures from the attic of the Sunday School building were cleaned up, wired for electricity, and installed.

Modern visual education equipment, including a sound motion picture projector and screen, was purchased and installed in the Sunday school auditorium in 1947.

In 1936 the large room to the right of the entrance hall of the old Brethren's House was remodeled as the "Eshbach Memorial Parlor," and furnished with some of the congregation's antiques. During the winter and spring of the present year (1949) the room known for many years as "The Bible Class Room," to the left of the entrance hall, was made over into a chapel, with pews of the same design as those in the church, under the sponsorship of the Men's Bible Class, as a memorial to the two hundreth anniversary of the congregation. A Wurlitzer electric organ was installed in this chapel.

The last of the improvements to the church property—just completed—is the installation of a new organ, built by Sebastian Gundling and Son. It is recessed into the east wall of the church, using one room and some additional space on the second floor of the parsonage to accommodate the pipes, since the north gallery, which the former organ occupied, is not large enough. This north gallery will continue to be used by the choir, and the organ console is placed there, as before.

For many years the only solution to the problem of trying to find room in the church on Christmas Eve for a crowd equal to more than twice its seating capacity, seemed to be to restrict attendance to members only. In 1906 the idea was hit upon of holding two, and in 1929, three, identical services, but today, in spite of this, the age-old problem is as far from solution as ever.

Since 1916, candles have been distributed to all, at this service—adults as well as children. In 1932, the trombonists started the custom of playing between the services, from the outside balcony of the church. Since then, also, the Square has been illuminated by the placing of a lighted candle in each window facing the Square, in the buildings on all sides. An added improvement in recent years is the illumination of the church steeple by flood lights, not only on Christmas Eve, but whenever an evening service is held in the building—truly a beautiful sight!

The last of the great anniversaries, the Bi-Centennial of the Congregation, was celebrated from February 9th to 13th, 1949. The pageant, "The Torch Bearers," written and produced orig-

inally for the opening of the Sunday School building, was presented Wednesday and Thursday evenings, February 9th and 10th, and a Fellowship Banquet was held on Friday, the 11th, with Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton as the main speaker. Dr. Herbert H. Beck, the Lititz archivist, Drs. Ernest S. Hagen and Byron K. Horne, the only two living former pastors, Dr. F. W. Stengel, president emeritus of Linden Hall and the pastor, the Rev. Edwin W. Kortz, also took part in the program.

The Anniversary sermon on Sunday morning, February 13th, was preached by the Rev. Charles Adams, a native of Lititz, now pastor of the Ardmore Moravian Church in Winston-Salem, N. C .The celebration was closed by a lovefeast in the afternoon, at which greetings were brought by Dr. F. P. Stocker, President of the Provincial Elders Conference, by the two former pastors, by the Rev. George Carvell, pastor of the Trinity Evangelical Congregational Church, representing the Lititz Ministerial Association, and by Brother Adams, for the Southern Province.

In connection with the Bi-Centennial, commemorative tablets were placed on the Church, the Parsonage (the former *Gemeinhaus*), the Brethren's and Sisters' Houses, and on the *Leichen-Kapelle* or Corpse Chapel. These tablets were designed by Dr. Herbert H. Beck, Church Archivist.

So ended the first two hundred years of the Lititz Congregation.

In the last fifty years, the communicant membership has grown from 435 to 950, and the total membership from 643 to 1138, and benevolences have increased more than 500%, from $1,800.59 in 1898 to $10,084.48 in 1948. In addition, the congregation has met all its running expenses, including salaries, from current income, during the past year, without using any of the interest on invested capital.

As we set up the second great milestone in our congregation's history, we may, indeed, say with Samuel, the Prophet, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us!" Shall we not continue to trust His hand for the future?

Photograph by Abraham R. Beck

FIG. 1 — AUDUBON VILLA IN 1885. The boys from left to right are Frank Myers, George Strawbridge, Guy Ramsay and Charles Dando.

Photograph by Abraham R. Beck

FIG. 2 — THE BECK FAMILY SCHOOL AT MILLER'S WOODS IN 1895. From the left are James Frazier, Elmer Brown, Frank Lawrence, Thomas Bausman, Abraham R. Beck, Paul Luckenbach, Arthur Vincent, John Shirk, Lewis Ramsay and Walter Franklin. Five of the boys who were in the school at the time are missing from the group. Miller's Woods, adjoining Lititz at the southwest, was the last stand of primeval timber in the immediate region.

The Beck Family School

By Herbert Huebener Beck

The Beck Family School for Boys, at Lititz, Pennsylvania, was conducted from 1865 to 1895 by Abraham Reinke Beck (1833-1928) and his wife, Joanna Salome (Huebener) Beck (1839-1917). Both were of long Moravian ancestry. Abraham Beck could trace his lineage back to Martin Schneider, associate of John Amos Comenius; Joanna Huebener, hers to Cornelia Ysselsteyn, who was a little girl at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, when Zinzendorf named that town.

The origin of the school is described by John Beck, principal of the Lititz Academy from 1815 to 1865. In his letter of March 25, 1867, to John Emerson of Portsmouth, Norfolk County, Virginia, who was one of his former students, John Beck says: "The school for boys is conducted by my son Abraham, who was born while you were here. It was always my wish that he should take charge of my school when I retired. Knowing the great responsibilities of such an institution, as well as the troubles big boys are apt to cause, he would not undertake it, but determined to open a school for small boys of the age of ten or eleven years. I had no faith in his success, but contrary to my opinion, he is doing well and has his school full with boys from Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore. He boards them all in his family.[1] If you can remember the house where Thomas Cornick boarded, that is the place where he has his school. That house has, however, been taken away and a large brick house has been put in its place."

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[1] John Beck's pupils boarded at the private homes of the town. His school-building was first, in 1815, a former blacksmith shop on the west side of the church square. In 1822 he built an academy building on the site of this shop, and after 1832 he used the large Brethren's House (1759) in addition. When he retired in 1865 his total list of pupils was 2326. (See John Beck, the Eminent Teacher, by Simon P. Eby. Vol. II, No. 5, Lancaster County Historical Society. Also John Beck's Valedictory Letter and Complete Catalog, Lititz Moravian Archives.)

The brick house referred to in this letter stood on the south side of East Main street on the lot adjoining the present Post Office building to its west. This house was used as a family school until 1868, when Abraham Beck built a large house on the half-block at the northeast corner of South Broad and Center streets. His new property extended from the middle of the block, where the house still stands, to Center street. A few years after he retired, about 1897, he built a house on the southern sixty feet of this land, and he and his wife spent their last years there.

The school-house, which was built in 1867 and occupied in 1868, was three stories with a mansard roof and a large basement. In the basement was the "wash-room" where the boys had their morning ablutions and their weekly baths, and an adjoining large cellar. On the first floor there was Mr. Beck's library and office, a large dining-room, pantry and kitchen on the north side; a large parlor and the "Trunk-room" on the south side. On the second floor, on the north side, there was a family bed-room and a large school-room, at the end of which there was an adjoining room separated by a folding door. At the western end of the hall-way was the "museum." On the south side there was a family living room, usually called "the nursery," and a bed-room. A large bookcase, the school library, stood in the hall-way. On the top floor there was a large dormitory, "the pottery" and "the light-house" (garret storage) on the north side; a guest-room, an auxiliary dormitory and a servants' room on the south side.

There were coal stoves in all of the rooms of the first and second floors. During the last few years a furnace was placed in the cellar. Kerosene wall-lamps lighted the school-room and there were student-lamps in the library and nursery.

In the rear of the school-house, joined to it by a corridor, there was a large two-story frame building. This had the necessaries, tool-house, coal-bin and "the owl-shed" on the first floor; a bowling-alley and a long portico above.

Between the two buildings there was a pump over a well of hard limestone water. There was also a cistern nearby kept filled by the rain-water from the roofs.

The school-yard, with its central part open for a baseball field and, in winter coasting, was well planted with Norway spruce,

Norway and white pine, hemlock, tulip poplar, Norway and silver maple, locust, ash and oak. Many of these trees carried the names of Mr. Beck's literary or historical favorites. Among others there was an Emerson, a Bryant and a Longfellow. Named for Mr. Beck's great-grandfather, there was a Bernhard Adam Grubé; also a David Zeisberger.

The property was called Audubon Villa—a euphonious title inspired by the owner's fondness for nature, especially ornithology. John James Audubon (1780-1851) had been an active figure in American ornithology during Mr. Beck's youth.

The business economy of the school is shown in a four page folder with the title

Moravian Family School
for a
Limited number of Boys,
Abraham R. Beck, Principal.
Litiz, Lancaster County, Pa.

Terms.

"For tuition and all domestic expenses, $300 a year, to be paid half-yearly in advance, in September and February.

Music, Piano or Violin, $40; drawing, $20.

No extra charge for vocal music and light gymnastics.

Boys will be received between the ages of eight and eleven years.

The annual vacation takes place during the months of July and August.

No deduction will be made for absence, except in cases of protracted illness or dismissal."

The cook, for many years Paulina Kreider, was paid $10 a month, which was considered good pay in those days. It was the same pay the cook at the larger Lititz school, Linden Hall, received. The second servant, for many years Abby Yeiser, who did the upstairs work, looked after the stoves and lamps and waited on the table, got $6 a month. For many years "Mammy" Hull and "Mammy" Niess came to the school on Mondays for

washing and ironing. William Oehme, from whose nearby cow-stable came the milk and cream supply, did some of the gardening, woodchopping, etc.

The school year was from September 15 to June 15, with interims for Christmas and Easter holidays.

The boys rose at 7 o'clock. After Mrs. Beck had read the Morning Text and the Birthday Book, breakfast, in which oatmeal, toast or bread, milk or coffee, was usually the major food, was served at 7:30. The heavy meal, with usual roasts of beef or pork and plenty of vegetables, was at noon. There was always soup and pie at Saturday dinners. Supper was at 5:30.

Classes started at eight. There was usually a morning walk, frequently to the station "to see the train come in," between morning classes. Afternoon classes were from two to four, followed by a walk or playground recreations. Wednesday afternoon was a half-holiday and Saturday was given over to "writing letters home," the weekly baths and diversions.

On "English Sundays," which for many years alternated with "German Sundays," with German sermons, in the Lititz Moravian congregation, the boys went to church. They sat in the front pews of the western gallery. Sunday evenings, on "German Sundays," the boys gathered in the school-room to sing selected carols and hymns.

The classes in reading, writing, composition, geography, history, elocution, and for many years mental as well as written arithmetic, were taught almost continuously for thirty years by Mr. Beck. For a few years Adam B. Reidenbach, of Lititz, taught arithmetic, and occasionally Mrs. Beck assisted in that subject. During the last few years of the school Paul E. Beck, Mr. Beck's eldest son, assisted in teaching.

Natural history, especially ornithology, was automatically part of the curriculum.[2] A bird-list, probably the first of its kind

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[2] Key to North American Birds, by Elliot Coues, was the reference. printed in America, on which species seen during the season were checked, was given to each boy. These daily and seasonal field check-lists are now much in use among bird-observers.

These bird-lists typified Mr. Beck's method of teaching. The boys competed with each other for the greatest number of birds seen. In the school library the name of the boy who had read any one of the standard works was entered on an honor list. In compositions the boys strove to get "Excellents," written in red ink at the bottoms of their papers; if possible "Double Excellents," with the word inscribed in beautiful German text. Mr. Beck was a master of Spencerian handwriting and competition in penmanship soon developed among the boys. In geography and history there was competition to acquire the greatest number of facts. The boys were always taught to try to excel.

The school inherited from the John Beck Academy a considerable amount of apparatus for illustrating scientific lectures. The "Catalogue of John Beck's School Lyceum" shows that this material had been used at the Academy prior to 1835. Among these pieces, which Abraham Beck used in his lectures throughout the year, were the following: To illustrate electricity—electrizing machine, Leyden jar, electric bells, brass dancing plate and images, electric cannon, insulating stool, thunder house, glass-handled discharger and universal discharger; to illustrate pneumatics—double-barreled air pump and large receiver, set of Magdeburg hemispheres, tall jar for fountain in vacuum and common lifting pump, (made by the ingenious "Billy" Hall of Lititz); to illustrate chemistry—alembic, iron and glass retorts, hydrogen gun, etc.; to illustrate optics—prism, double convex and double concave lenses, magic lantern with convex reflector and telescope with three inch lens. This telescope, excellent for its day, had been bought in 1833 from a Dr. Denny, a traveling lecturer. It was often used on clear nights to view the moon, see the satellites of Jupiter, etc. The boys soon learned to find the North Star from the constellation of the Great Bear, and many other constellations became familiar to them. A fine alcohol driven steam-engine, about two feet long, whose performance the boys always enjoyed, had probably come into the John Beck Academy later than 1835. These lectures, elementary in their subjects, featured spectacular experiments like the electric cannon, shocks from the Leyden jar, fountain in vacuum, etc. which could easily

be followed by the younger boys and would appeal to their imaginations.

The large charts of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, etc.—"drawn and colored from nature by hand"—which often hung on the walls of the school-room at Audubon Villa, are listed in the catalogue of 1835.

All of the apparatus was kept in the museum. Other features of this "Cabinet of Natural History" were a well-mounted bald eagle; Fiji Island clubs, sword and shawl, which one of John Beck's pupils, Peter Wager, had brought home to him from the Wilkes (U. S. Navy) Expedition into the Pacific (1838-1842); the skin of an enormous boa constrictor, from a Moravian missionary; the saw of a large sawfish, from an Academy boy in Virginia, and many other lesser items.

Drawing in pencil and crayon and painting in water-color were always popular among the boys. Mr. Beck was a good artist and some of his boys did so well in art that they continued it in later years.

Music was an important part of the school. String and brass instruments were taught by Mr. Beck; piano by his daughters, Martha and Mabel, or his wife. Mr. Beck was a versatile musician. For a time he had been organist of the Lititz Moravian congregation; he had played first violin in its choir orchestra and soprano slide in its trombone choir. He had a good tenor voice and for years sang the solo part of his own composition "Just as I am," for male voices, on Palm Sunday. He was a deft arranger of orchestral parts and really an expert writer of those parts on the musical staff. He arranged all his orchestral and band scores himself. Typical of his ability in this line is his arrangement of Bach's Aria for the G string for string quartet.

There was usually an orchestra and a six or eight piece brass band in the school. A unique feature of the latter was its performance from the house-top. There was a trap-door on the comparatively flat roof of the house through which the boys could come upon a glorious panoramic view of Warwick Township with the profile of the Furnace Hills to the north. From this elevation the voice of fanfares and other sprightly melodies carried far beyond the town. A common sight on these occasions

was a distant plowman listening to the merry music of the school band as he leaned on the handle of his plow. Among the music of these morning serenades were national airs, "Hunter's Farewell," (Mendelssohn), "Wild Trooper" (Schumann), and many fanfares. Sometimes, on Sunday evenings, the band played religious pieces from the house-top. Among these were "Cast thy Burdens" (Mendelssohn), "Battle Prayer" (Himmel), and "Just as I am." (A. R. Beck).

On Friday afternoons there was a "singing school" hour, around the piano, with Stephen Foster leading the way among the composers. One of the features of the school-week, which the boys always looked forward to, was Mr. Beck's story-telling on Saturday evenings. Mr. Beck was a dramatic narrator. He had a long list of his own stories, some which he had got from his father, and a few from other authors. On Saturday evenings the boys sat spell-bound around him. Jonas Johnson, Valentine Valiant, Abbatibbi Ike and others were characters as prominent in this little world as Dr. Jeckyl and Tiny Tim beyond.

Indoor recreations, as on rainy or wintry Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, included roller-skating in the school-room, bowling in the bowling alley or playing "Mammy Switcher" there. This was a game, originated by the boys, in which the main actor, carrying a whip, chased the dodging boys in and around the alley and through the door and windows leading to the portico, trying to lash stockinged legs. The main actor was Mr. Beck carrying a rawhide whip which the boys had chipped together to buy for the purpose. Frequently there was a "shooting match" on these indoor afternoons. The boys were taught how to handle a gun and many became good marksmen. Lancaster's famous riflemaker, Henry E. Leman, whose son James was one of the pupils, had presented the school with a beautiful gift rifle of his make. This being a percussion gun, loaded with a ramrod, it was soon replaced by a more quickly loaded, breech-action Flobert, and a Remington, both .22 caliber. Sometimes, at increased range, the boys shot at and for hanging oranges.

Outdoor games were baseball, played "moving up" or in "sides," or cricket. The latter game was then popular in Philadelphia and the pupils from that city, the Warburtons, Straw-

bridges and Bonbrights, brought cricket into the school. It was probably the only time that English game was played in Lancaster County. There was a "flying-steps" pole at the southwest corner of the yard. This was much used by the boys. In winter there was coasting and ice-skating.

On Fall days the walks into the country were usually hunting parties. A rifle and a shotgun were carried along. Granville Henry, gunsmith of Boulton, Pennsylvania, a descendant of the famous William Henry of Lancaster, and a close friend of Abraham Beck's, had presented the school with a single-barrel, muzzle-loading shotgun. It was an excellent field piece. "Ground bunnies" (chipmunks) were then plentiful and the boys would get them, usually on a snake-fence, with the rifle. Red and grey squirrels, rabbits, blackbirds and an occasional shorebird were killed with the Henry gun, a reliable boy selected to make the shot. In the early days of the school a few passenger pigeons were shot. At the end of the hunt the boys drew for the game in the bag. Mr. Beck, with his eyes honestly closed, touched the lucky boy as the compact circle passed around him. A few times there were "exploring expeditions" for the older boys, fitted for long walks. One of these was an overnight expedition to Koch's Tavern—on the Lancaster-Lebanon county line—and beyond.

On fair September evenings, when twilight fell before the usual bedtime 7:30, the boys played "robbers and police" in the well foliaged school-yard. For this twilight game the school had a set of kerosene lanterns. These lanterns entered into a sensational event one night in later Fall. As the boys were getting in line to go to the upstairs dormitory, each one carrying his lantern, the usual "Good night, Mr. Beck," "Good night, boys," was suddenly preceded by an exclamation from the teacher halting the advance. "Boys, I hear excitement in our chicken-house. I wonder if it might not be the wild cat which the *Lititz Record* reports prowling these parts. Let's investigate." All hair stood on end to be suppressed by the caps of the excited boys. Then the fast-breathing party tiptoed through the corridor and up the stairs into the bowling alley, Mr. Beck carrying the Henry gun. Peering into the dark side-street the boys *did* see a wild cat—of enormous size, and curiously black and white—lurking by the

chicken-house. At the sight of the lanterns the marauder dashed down the street—only to be stopped by the bang! of the brave Henry. A wild cheer. "Take care, boys! It might not be dead! A crippled wild cat is a dangerous animal!" as the excited party dashed down the steps. But when the crowd gathered around the wild cat it was really dead. The Henry gun had done its work well. In fact it was so dead that the confederate who had pulled the monster down the alley with a clothesline had trouble getting the rope from its wooden legs. While it was not exactly a museum piece, the specimen was notable for its melanism. That wild cat must have had pints of black ink in its bloodline. The wild cat act was one of Mr. Beck's ways of entertaining the boys with surprises. He often used other ways to do this.

Among the special events of the school-year there was the "spelling bee" on Fasnacht Day, with an enormous Fasnacht cake as the prize. On Washington's Birthday the boys had a parade through the town. They were usually adorned with paper hats of Continental Army pattern, and they always carried Mexican war sabers, several dozen of which had come into the school arsenal. Sometimes Mr. Beck staged a trick-show for the boys and a few invited guests. Mr. Beck had become acquainted with the famous magician, Signor Blitz, when he visited Lititz. With the assistance of a New York supply house and a fair amount of native ability he could put on a good performance in leger-de-main. The rabbit was returned to a neighbor's hutch after the show. There was an annual magic-lantern show with the kerosene lamp lantern and many slides which had come from the Beck Academy. There were theatrical performances, usually once a year. A take-down stage temporarily occupied the entire room adjoining the school-room. Its drop curtain and its scenery were painted by Mr. Beck's brother, J. Augustus Beck, Harrisburg artist. One of the most famous of the school's performances was "Dick Whittington and his cat," featuring Fiji Islanders carrying real war clubs. On especially great days the cannon was fired. The school had been presented with a ship's signal gun—a cast iron cannon about three and a half feet long with a four inch bore. When Chauncey F. Black's father was running for Governor of Pennsylvania, on the democratic ticket, it was the hope of

the boys, including young Chauncey, that the cannon would be fired if favorable returns came in for Black. Unfortunately the State went republican that year.

Mr. Beck was a clear and clever writer in prose and poetry. The following skit he handed to a boy in elocution, carrying with it a lesson in geography, is typical of many others he wrote:

The Quito Boy

Mother may I go out and play,
I'm tired of all my toys,
And even if I wished to play
I can't find any boys.
I've eaten dinner—on my chin
There's still some mashed pertater—
So now I think I'll go out and skin
The cat on the equator.

"Skinning the cat" meant doing a body-turning, gymnastic act on an iron bar placed between two posts. A Quito boy could do that on the equator.

Another, of many, showing Mr. Beck's devotion to birds, had as its first verse:

Come and tell me, is it so—
Modest red-eyed vireo—
That your constant note, my sweet,
Means saying grace before you eat?

Mr. Beck was the first amateur photographer in Lititz. In 1885 he erected a "dark-room" on the back porch of the school building for developing his plates. The pictures shown in this historical record are his work.

There was always a school-dog. Pinch, Watch, Bruce, Tiger, Punch and Purley all were famous canine characters, in their day and way, at Audubon Villa. For some years there was a house-cat, Minga. There was usually a caged canary, a redbird (cardinal) and a parrot (African grey). The "owl shed," at the end of the bowling alley house, got its name from a pair of great-horned owls which were there for a short time. About 1886 a large columbarium was built along the eastern side of the

school-yard and pigeons of different breeds were kept there. The "owl shed" was then used as a chicken house.

Mr. Beck was banker for the boys and issued a weekly allowance to them, usually ten cents a week. Most of this money was spent at the school store, which was open for a short period on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. The school store was run by two of the boys, who bought the candy, originally at Rubicam's, Third and Race streets, Philadelphia; later of Jos. R. Royer, West King street, Lancaster. The profits coming to the storekeepers of 1874-1875, Harry Winston and Joseph Grundy (later a United States Senator), according to Mr. Beck's records in the "Red Book," were $19.73.

Most of the boys at the school came from families of high social and business standing in their home communities. This is typified by the Warburtons, Strawbridges, Bonbrights, Rulons, Gratzes and Oberteuffers of Philadelphia; the Winstons and Lilliendahls of New York; the Hagers, Grubbs, Haldemans, Schroeders, Lemans, Norths and Bausmans of Lancaster County; the Thaws and Woods of Pittsburgh; the Manns of Lewistown; the Gaylords of Saginaw; the Grundys of Bristol; the Blacks of York; the Dodsons, Myers, Luckenbachs, Lehmans and Wilsons of Bethlehem; and many others.

Many of these were families of wealth. Notable were the Thaws of Pittsburgh; and with this family hangs one of the most curious events of Mr. Beck's life. It is this: In September 1881 Mrs. Thaw, wife of a Pennsylvania Railroad magnate, brought her ten year old son, Harry K., to the school. As she was about to leave she confided this to the principal: "Mr. Beck I fear insanity in this son of mine; I wish you would make a special study of him." A few weeks later Mrs. Thaw wrote the same thing in a letter, and Mr. Beck saved that letter. In 1906 when Harry K. Thaw, then a millionaire playboy, shot and killed architect Stanford White in New York, it came to the attention of Martin W. Littleton, Thaw's defense attorney, that this letter—for his case highly valuable—was still in existence. Mr. Beck was summoned to the New York court. The case was an outstanding duel of the period between District Attorney Jerome K. Jerome and Martin W. Littleton. And when the verdict sent

Harry K. Thaw to a sanatarium, it was the consensus of opinion that the testimony of the humble schoolmaster from Lititz had saved the murderer from the electric chair.

The corollary to this was typical of Mr. Beck. The writer had accompanied his aging father to New York. At the end of the trial Mr. Beck said: "Bert, I want you to write a bill to Mr. Littleton including your expenses and mine, and not a cent more." The bill was $46.20. $10,000 would have been but a small fee for a man who was not legally obligated to leave his home state, and whose testimony saved a life. "I never liked Harry, but I went to New York for the sake of his father, whose memory I hold in the highest regard," was Mr. Beck's last word.

Most of the boys left Audubon Villa with a deep affection for Mr. and Mrs. Beck. Even crazy Harry Thaw, when he saw Mr. Beck enter the court-room, pointing to him, said to Mr. Littleton "There's the only man in the whole damn courtroom who amounts to anything at all." Treatment of his boys was always a major part of Mr. Beck's success. This was expressed when he said: "Bert, one cannot help liking one boy more than another but one must never show it." The son of a patron, who had to struggle to raise the $300 tuition fee, looked the same to Mr. Beck as the son of a millionaire.

The school was actually a family school. Everybody at Audubon Villa was part of the family, with Mrs. Beck mother to all. Almost every evening coats or pants were thrown out of the dormitory door for Mrs. Beck to stitch or to replace a button. She oversaw the weekly baths of the smaller boys. A good pianist, she usually accompanied the "singing school" songs on Friday afternoons. The boys had affectionate respect for Mr. and Mrs. Beck and misconduct was rare. An unusual, misplaced act sometimes put a boy in a "scrape." This meant that the offending boy was isolated from the others for an hour or more and assigned to the task of writing a long list of words.

When, in 1895, the sun set over the Beck Family School at Audubon Villa, there disappeared from the American scene a rare element in academic life—a compact educational unit, the unique efficiency of which was made possible only by two talent-

ed, versatile, devoted persons who lived with and for their charges.

List of Boys at the Beck Family School with their ages at time of entrance:

1865

Frederick C. Herring	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
Horace Hieskill	Norfolk, Va.	8
Theodore Kampmann	Lititz, Pa.	7
George Womrath Ford	Philadelphia, Pa.	8
Henry S. Miller	Lititz, Pa.	9
Marinus Pike Hoyt	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
William Henry Patterson	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Herman Borbeck	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Edgar Reichel	Lititz, Pa.	8
Charles Eneu Johnson	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
Samuel T. Altemus	Philadelphia, Pa.	12
Gilbert Holliday	Hollidaysburg, Pa.	12
William Jay Hedenberg	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Samuel Child	Baltimore, Md.	11
Geo. W. Dixon Hope	Bethlehem, Pa.	10
Russell Smith Clark	Fulton House, Lancaster Co., Pa.	7

1866

Thomas Drake	Germantown, Pa.	8
Harry Arms	Lancaster, Pa.	11
S. R. Warrington Rulon	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Henry Theodore Lilliendahl	New York City	11
John Curtis Patterson	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
Arthur Wadsworth Bradley	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Frederick Erastus Server	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½

1867

Frank H. Slayback	Princeton, N. J.	11½
William Morse Bradley	Philadelphia, Pa.	9½
George Herbert Haldeman	Columbia, Pa.	9½
Harry Knox Oakford	Philadelphia, Pa.	10¾
Anthony Burton Paxson	Philadelphia, Pa.	12

Christian Dan Willm Lilliendahl	New York City	9
Frank Eldridge Mann	Lewistown, Pa.	8
Harry Stiles Gratz	Philadelphia, Pa.	8

1868

Thomas Wood Haldeman	Columbia, Pa.	9
Harry Locke Mann	Lewistown, Pa.	8
Charles Traquair Hoyt	Philadelphia, Pa.	8

1869

William Prescott Bonbright	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
George W. Kern	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Abraham Raphael Beck	Harrisburg, Pa.	10
Clarence Ronald Grant	New York City	12
Harry Linderman	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Joseph Parry Vaughen	Reading, Pa.	11
Edmund Hayes Bell	Lancaster, Pa.	12
Thomas Ellis	Baltimore, Md.	13
Charles Ellis	Baltimore, Md.	11

1870

Alfred C. Kusenberg	Düsseldorf, Germany	8½
Chambers McKibben	Chambersburg, Pa.	9
Franklin Braisted Jones	New York City	14
Charles Lawrence Abbott	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
William Hutchinson Mann	Lewistown, Pa.	9
Walter Roberts Addicks	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
Henry Seymour Winston	New York City	
Charles Christian Knauss	Bethlehem, Pa.	10
Geo. Washington Smith	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10

1871

Alfred Bates Grubb	Mt. Hope, Lancaster Co. Pa.	9¾
William Mann Brisbin	Lewistown, Pa.	11
Christopher Hager	Lancaster, Pa.	11
Geo. Washington Wootten	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Frank L. Beckel	Bethlehem, Pa.	10½
Thomas Parke	Trenton, N. J.	10¾

1872

William Richardson	New Gascony, Ark.	12
Manassas Richardson	New Gascony, Ark.	10½
John Denniston	Hollidaysburg, Pa.	11¾
Joseph Ridgway Grundy	Bristol, Pa.	9½
David McKibbin	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½
Charles Wardell Brown	Mt. Holly, N. J.	10
Harry E. Herman	Philadelphia, Pa.	10¾
Frederick James Winston	New York City	8
Harry Albaugh Porterfield	Emlenton, Venango Co., Pa.	9½
John H. Farr, Jr.	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½
Louis Cooper Gratz	Philadelphia, Pa.	12
Wm. John Gaul Yuengling	Pottsville, Pa.	11

1873

Walter Gratz	Philadelphia, Pa.	8
Geo. Scott Truxton	Philadelphia, Pa.	9
Harry Stiles	Philadelphia, Pa.	8½
Walter Murrell Parvin	Philadelphia, Pa.	12½
William Percy Parvin	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Eberhard Flues, Jr.	Fort Washington, Pa.	10
William Hoffmire	Brooklyn, N. Y.	11
Fred Augustus Seaman	Madison, N. J.	10¾
Robert Gratz Stiles	Virginia	

1874

James Cameron Leman	Lancaster, Pa.	8¾
Chas. Seibert Wiederhold	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10½
Eugene Henry Hooper	Baltimore, Md.	10½
James Hoover Phipps	Philadelphia, Pa.	9¾
John C. Scott, Jr.	Philadelphia, Pa.	9½
Samuel Ellison Clarkson	Lancaster, Pa.	10½
Harry Augustus Leinbach	Reading, Pa.	12
Harold Shreve	Tom's River, N. J.	13½
Sumner Stone Gould	Chatham, N. J.	8

1875

George L. Reed	Reading, Pa.	13
Joseph Archer Rulon	Philadelphia, Pa.	9

James Henry Jacobson	Bethlehem, Pa.	9
Frank Waite Arnold	Lancaster, Pa.	12
William Edward Hooper	Baltimore, Md.	8
David Bair Shenk	Lancaster, Pa.	11
Isaiah R. Rolfe	New Brunswick, N. J.	11
Harry J. Rolfe	New Brunswick, N. J.	9
Charles John Lins	Schuylkill Haven, Pa.	9
Barclay Harding Warburton	Philadelphia, Pa.	9½
Robert Wilson Parry	Camden, N. J.	12

1876

Chas. Fritz Van Blankensteyn	Brooklyn, N. Y.	9¾
Charles Budd Simon	Harrisburg, Pa.	
William Lincoln Sill	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½
Augustus Howard Simon	Harrisburg, Pa.	9¾
Geo. Edward Stephenson	Emlenton, Venango Co., Pa.	11
James D. Bennett	Emlenton, Venango Co., Pa.	9¾

1877

Chas. William Bowman	Brownsville, Fayette Co., Pa.	10
Clarence Lincoln Cooper	Pittsburgh, Pa.	11
Frank H. Willcox	Richmond, Ind.	11
Herbert Huhn	Philadelphia, Pa.	7½
James Howard Bonbright	Philadelphia, Pa.	9½
Harry Preston Coffin	Slatington, Pa.	12½

1878

George Harry Reed	Lancaster, Pa.	9¾
Matthew Huston Taggert, Jr.	Lititz, Pa.	11½
William Franklin Lebzelter	Lancaster, Pa.	11¾
Joseph Todhunter Sill	Philadelphia, Pa.	10½
Lawrence Huebener Oerter	South Bethlehem, Pa.	8½
Paul Eugene Beck	Lititz, Pa.	7¼
Charles Pierce Shoemaker	Bristol, Pa.	9

1879

Adolph Charles Siefert	Brooklyn, N. Y.	11
Henry Muhlenberg Shroder	Lancaster, Pa.	11¼
Lawrence Knapp	Lancaster, Pa.	13¾
Charles I. Holl	Philadelphia, Pa.	13½
Irving Wayland Bonbright	Philadelphia, Pa.	8½
Leon Henry Clark	Philadelphia, Pa.	11

1880

James Nevin Shroder	Lancaster, Pa.	9
Stansbury Sutton	Pittsburgh, Pa.	11
Howard Clinton Snyder	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Willis Buckland Cochran	Franklin, Pa.	10¾
George Hunter Bolton	Harrisburg, Pa.	13½

1881

Lawrence Sprole Sheasley	Franklin, Pa.	11½
Waldemar Robert Wright	St. Louis, Mo.	11½
Harry Kendall Thaw	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10½
James Emile Wood	Pittsburgh, Pa.	11
Harry Russell Gaylord	Saginaw, Mich.	9
B. Ellwood Jones	Bradford, Pa.	11
Carl M. Bowman	Philadelphia, Pa.	7
Geo. Lafayette Farrel Thomas	Philadelphia, Pa.	10¾

1882

Charles Ford Wilson	Bethlehem, Pa.	11½
Walter Mann	Lewistown, Pa.	11
Herbert Huebener Beck	Lititz, Pa.	7
Andrew Jackson Holman	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Augustine Smith Gaylord	Saginaw, Mich.	12
Fred I. Rowland	Emlenton, Pa.	12
James Rittenhouse Scott, Jr.	Philadelphia, Pa.	8
Guy Robert Ramsay	Pottsville, Pa.	11

1883

Bird Wilson Greenland	Clarion, Pa.	11½
George Holt Strawbridge	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½
Joseph Duncan Smedberg	Lancaster, Pa.	9½

Hugh McAllister North, Jr.	Columbia, Pa.	10
Frank Jacob Myers	Bethlehem, Pa.	9
Owen Francis Luckenbach	Bethlehem, Pa.	12
Job Roberts Wilson	Bethlehem, Pa.	9
Charles Anstett Louis	New York City	8
J. Wesley Allison	Philadelphia, Pa.	10

1884

Wilmer Worthington Wood	Pittsburgh, Pa.	10½
Carlisle Patterson Halter	Corpus Christi, Texas	12
Herbert Williams Landon	Bay City, Mich.	11
Clarence Oliver Luckenbach	Bethlehem, Pa.	11
George Dana Bonbright	Philadelphia, Pa.	9⅓
Howard Riegel	Philadelphia, Pa.	8¾
Chas. L. E. E. Dando	London, Eng.	8½

1885

Harvey Hebert Allison	Philadelphia, Pa.	8¾
Francis Hoskins Baldwin	Atlantic City, N. J.	10½
George D. Oberteuffer	Philadelphia, Pa.	8
Chauncey Ford Black, Jr.	York, Pa.	11½
John Tully Hughes	Tucson, Ariz.	11
J. Frederick Frentzel	Philadelphia, Pa.	10¾

1886

Louis William Frentzel	Philadelphia Pa.	
Frederick William Evert	Pittsburgh, Pa.	9¾
Ernest Clarence Oberteuffer	Philadelphia, Pa.	11½
Thomas Brinckle Spry	Philadelphia, Pa.	12½
John George Lehman	Bethlehem, Pa.	12½
Harry Nagle Crowell	Philadelphia, Pa.	11
Frederick Lippencott Harley	Quakertown, Pa.	9

1887

George Raymond Hall	Philadelphia, Pa.	8½
Brewster Cameron, Jr.	Lochiel, Ariz.	10
Frederick Simcoe Chapman	Duluth, Minn.	9¾
Percy G. Mann	Lewistown, Pa.	10¾
Truman Munroe Dodson	Bethlehem, Pa.	10⅓

1888

Charles A. B. Zook	Lancaster, Pa.	9¾
James Hill Schwartz	Reading, Pa.	10
Howard Albert Riegel	Bethlehem, Pa.	12
Charles Henry Riegel	Bethlehem, Pa.	10½
Richard Douglass Chapman	Bethlehem, Pa.	11½
Frederick Albert Weissinger	Pottsville, Pa.	11
Walter Edgar Weissinger	Pottsville, Pa.	9
Richard Moulton Goundie	Washington, D. C.	8¾

1889

Harry Annis Hill	Bethlehem, Pa.	10
Christian Wissler	Max Meadows, Va.	10
William Fiss	Lancaster, Pa.	8
Frederick William Lineaweaver	Columbia, Pa.	10

1890

Josiah Briean	Philadelphia, Pa.	10½
Leonard Augustus Yerkes	York, Pa.	10
Reginald Wright Kauffman	Columbia, Pa.	13
Merle Bell	Wrightsville, Pa.	10
Park Bachman	Strasburg, Pa.	11½

1891

Sam'l John Atlee Haldeman	Columbia, Pa.	13½
Howard Bush Yecker	Lancaster, Pa.	8
Seth Marshall	Saginaw, Mich.	10
Samuel Archer Rulon	Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Alfred Adamson	Fond du Lac, Mich.	11½
Millard Ligon	St. Louis, Mo.	11½
W'm Chas. Lins Uhlig	Brooklyn, N. Y.	8½

1892

Lewis Penoyer Ramsay	Lake Charles, La.	9½
Albert Ellis Barron	Tarrytown, N. Y.	9½
Pauly Mart Ligon	St. Louis, Mo.	7½

1893

Elmer Whitman Brown	Saginaw, Mich.	9
Frank Lawrence, Jr.	Saginaw, Mich.	11

Chambers Peirce McKibbin	Chambersburg, Pa.	7¼
Paul Jacob Luckenbach	Bethlehem, Pa.	11
Thomas Merrill Ring	Saginaw, Mich.	9¾
Simeon Baldwin	Atlantic City, N. J.	10
Walter Herman Simon	Philadelphia, Pa.	10½

1894

Thomas Franklin Bausman	Lancaster, Pa.	12
Walter Mayer Franklin	Lancaster, Pa.	10
James William Frazier	Cooperstown, Pa.	14
Arthur Hill Vincent	Saginaw, Mich.	9

1895

Lucius Albert Warren	Lancaster, Pa.	12
John H. Shirk	Oregon, Lancaster Co., Pa.	11

April 1st, 1895

Note at end: No lack of applications; 50 before they ceased coming. (A.R.B.) Total number 219

Abraham R. Beck, after his retirement in 1895, spent most of his time collecting, classifying and translating the records of the Lititz Moravian Church. He was the first archivist of the congregation. His "The Moravian Graveyards of Lititz, 1744-1905," is a permanent monument to the efforts of his historical research.

Linden Hall Junior College and School for Girls, 1748-1948

By W. N. Schwarze

This long established and widely known institution traces its beginnings to a school of humble proportions projected in 1746. In November of that year, Moravian Brethren broke ground in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, for their house of worship called a *Gemeinhaus*, according to Moravian usage of the time, a chapel, schoolhouse, and parsonage combined. George Klein, farmer and landholder, had donated three and three quarter acres of his extensive tract about the big spring as site of the *Gemeinhaus*. "This plot was about 1600 yards east of the springhead, and the new building occupied the first prominent declivity along the south bank of the stream."

Of the first importance are the facts concerning the origin of the school. It has been said that the foundation of most educational institutions in America, including those that function in the field of higher learning, is the result of the operation of local causes. And local causes were operative here. But they did not become effective without stimulation by forces more remote in time, place, and character.

In the month of December, 1742, Count Zinzendorf, who had become the leader of the modern Moravian Church, was paying a farewell official visit to some of the various groups of German settlers in the eastern section of the Colony of Pennsylvania, among whom itinerant ministers from the Moravian settlement of Bethlehem had for several years been laboring. In course of this visit he came to the house of Jacob Huber, in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, where he delivered an address. George Klein, named above, though Huber's nearest neighbor, did not attend the meeting, because of prejudice against Zinzendorf. As it was a time of fervent religious awakening among the Germans of Pennsylvania, however, brought about largely through the

testimony of Moravian evangelists, it was not unnatural that Klein's spirit should be greatly disturbed during the night because of his conduct, and he resolved to follow the Count to Lancaster on the following day. There he heard Zinzendorf preach in the court-house and was deeply moved. This proved to be determinative, for Klein identified himself with the Moravians. He gave not only the original site for the *Gemeinhaus,* but, in 1754, when Zinzendorf and his coadjutors sought an appropriate place for the establishment of a third settlement congregation (religious community in which municipal and ecclesiastical government were identical, town and congregation being one) simliar to Bethlehem and Nazareth in the same Pennsylvania Colony, Klein offered his entire tract of nearly 500 acres for the purpose. Thus the settlement had its start. Two years later, word came from Zinzendorf that it was to receive the name Litiz (the earlier spelling) after the Barony of Litiz in Bohemia, where three hundred years before, in 1457, the founders of the Unitas Fratrum, Unity of Brethren, or, as it is now thought of, the ancient Moravian Church, had found asylum and were able to effect church organization, which issued from the evangelical movement led by John Hus, the martyr, in 1415, of the dawn of Protestantism.

The name Lititz given the new community was highly appropriate, for the Moravians of two hundred years ago who settled and labored in this and other parts of Pennsylvania as well as in other colonies were conservators of traditions that connected them with the founders and members of the ancient Unitas Fratrum. These had, by the year 1500, built up their organization to include 400 parishes and 200,000 members. They had developed ecclesiastical resources through elaboration of a confession of faith, translation of the Scriptures from the original tongues, publication of catechisms and hymnals, and establishment of schools, colleges and theological seminaries. Their educational principles had experienced remarkable development through the activities and writings of the last bishop of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, John Amos Comenius, famous educator.

Comenius had, in 1631, by his publication of *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (Gate of the Languages Unlocked) established his fame as an educational reformer. Later, he was called to the task of

reforming the school system of Sweden, subsequently, that of Hungary, and he labored in other lands. In the course of this far-reaching activity he worked out an educational system that entitles him to the distinction of being "the father of modern educational theory and practice." He propounded an integrated and unified so-called "pansophic" view of culture, best set forth in his *Via Lucis.* He was a pioneer in advocating equal educational opportunities for the sexes, the system of object teaching, the necessity of physical training, and the importance of aiming to develop the whole human being. And, with prophetic vision when the organzation of the Unitas Fratrum was crushed during the Thirty Years War, he provided for its resuscitation by publication of his *Ratio Disciplinae,* embodying the principles, the teaching, the work, and the discipline of the Unitas Fratrum.

In the event, such a resuscitation did come about when fugitives from Moravia (hence the modern name Moravian Church), who had preserved traditions of their fathers of the Unitas Fratum, found refuge in Saxony, on the estate of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who became their leader. Their settlement, Herrnhut, became the rallying center of likeminded compatriots and German pietists, so that renewal of the Church on the old principles was invigorated with an infusion of new life-blood from the evangelical church of Germany. Moreover, Moravians were forcefully affected by the influence of what was best in European education, for, as did Zinzendorf of Halle and Wittenberg, so Spangenberg and Peter Boehler of Jena, Pyrlaeus of Leipzig, and many other university men became identified with the Moravians.

Such men were among the Moravians when they appeared in the Province of Pennsylvania, more than two centuries ago, to seek a place in this region of opportunities and to undertake their part in helping to work out the problem of its future. Spangenberg, in 1739, wrote to Count Zinzendorf, before the latter visited America, that the educational needs of the Colony of Pennsylvania were very great. It was the day of beginnings. The whole region was sparsely settled by whites. Perhaps there were not more than three hundred thousand in the Colony. In most parts of it they were battling with the wilderness. The "Log College

on the Neshaminy'' to the south had reached only its teens. In Spangenberg's language there was ''almost no one who made the youth his concern.''

Naturally, the report of this pioneer, who had been sent to spy out the religious and moral requirements of the Pennsylvania Colony, met with sympathetic response on the part of Moravians then in the Province. The traditions of the character they had inherited, enriched as they had been by the best of European thought and practice, wrought for them a pattern of educational effort that received inspiration and impress from the distinctive character of Moravianism. First principle of Moravianism is unqualified subjection to the Word of God. One of its fundamental doctrines is divine supremacy in all things, especially those of the human soul, yet that very supremacy is so regarded as including man's agency and responsibility, as concerning this life and the world to come. Its policy is not that of a mere voluntary society, nor yet that of a hierarchy, but rather that of a commonwealth, whose divine Lord is Master and whose leaders and members are brethren. Such a scheme admits of offices of instruction and administration for the maintenance of truth and order. In such a system the education both of the ministry and the people is not an incident but a fundamental necessity. The ministry must be able both by culture and the enlightenment of the Spirit to discover the truth of God. The people, having a right as clearly assured, must be ready, like the noble Bereans, ''to receive the Word with all readiness of mind'' and to ''search the Scriptures daily whether these things are so.''

At the time of Zinzendorf's visit in 1742, the people of this vicinity requested that he send them a minister. In response, a succession of itinerants came. During the brief ministry of one of them, the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg, a log church was erected on Klein's land, known as St. James Church, as it had been dedicated on the festival of St. James, July 25, 1744. But the people wished that they might have a pastor to reside among them and that regular instruction should be imparted to their children. Accordingly, the *Gemeinhaus* above referred to was projected at a meeting in Klein's house in September, 1746. Building operations began in November, and on March 29, 1747, the cornerstone

was laid by Nyberg and the resident pastor, the Rev. Daniel Neubert. And in May, 1748, the Rev. Leonard Schnell, the successor of Neubert, occupied the house and commenced the school with four boys and three girls, his wife teaching the latter. During the next month, the Rev. Reinhart Ronner and wife arrived from Bethlehem as assistants in the school. Other teachers in succession, up to 1756, were George and Susan Nixdorff, Frederic and Barbara Schlegel, and Michael and Regina Zahm. It cannot, indeed, be affirmed that when these teachers entered upon their school-work and other Moravians, at about the same time, began their instructions elsewhere, they had a complete apprehension of the Comenian principles of education. But we cannot peruse the manuscripts left by the first Bethlehem school teacher, George Neisser, and the scant notices left by others in the various areas of Moravian activity of the time and avoid the conviction that in them vital traditions of what was best in the church of the forefathers survived.

There are but scant historical records of the early decades of the school in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*. Only incidental notices of the institution survive in congregation diaries and official records. For almost two decades, it was continued in simple and sturdy sincerity of purpose at the original site—the congregation diary, under date of April 20, 1758, including the statement that there were from 70 to 77 children in the school. In 1766 the building was taken down (being built of logs) and re-erected on one of the lots opposite the church square, which had been laid out by Bishop Spangenberg in 1757. There it was used for a number of years as a boys' school.

The girls' school was continued in the Sisters' House—the Castle of today. Structural features of the settlement of Lititz were the Brethren's House and the Sisters' House, erected between the years 1758 and 1761. These institutions were part of a Moravian plan, at the time, of a religious community. For purposes of Christian supervision, education, and employment the unmarried of both sexes were segregated in "choir houses." For the primitive conditions of the time as well as for the opportunities of the day, the plan proved to be effective and practical, as achievements and services shown by the records abundantly prove.

Moravian Sisters lived and labored in voluntary, often but temporary and partial seclusion from the world. They took no vows and were free to enter or leave the choir-house at any time. There was no distinctive dress, though it was customary to wear white caps tied with pink ribbon. The outward concerns of the "choir" were under the direction of a Sister specially qualified, the spiritual guidance of the choir-members was entrusted to a *Pflegerin,* whose office corresponded to that of a lady superior. Sewing, knitting, weaving, embroidering occupied much of the time of the Sisters and afforded means of livelihood, orders for the products of these activities coming mostly from Lancaster and Philadelphia.

The boys' school was closely related to the Brethren's House, and the girls' school was intimately related to the Sisters' House. In the Brethren's House opportunity was afforded the boys for learning various trades, and in the Sisters' House the girls could become proficient in sewing, knitting, weaving, and embroidery. It is thus of more than passing interest that for the time and place the question of vocational training, so much of a problem for educators of later days, was solved. In subjecting to scrutiny the curricula of these early schools, it should be remembered that text-books were rare. The accessories of the modern class-room were mainly wanting. In some of the early schools conducted by the Moravians special attention was paid to the languages. And mathematics and history find their places beside the more elementary branches. Instrumental and vocal music and drawing provided pleasant accomplishments. Unobtrusively, in all these schools, and in a way free from sectarian bias, the essentials of the Christian religion were imparted, as a matter of course. In the light of modern educational development defects and crudities appear, but here were the basic elements of a liberal education.

The school needs of the small community seem to have grown, for the church diary of January, 1765, records that a boys' school and a girls' school were begun. These appear to have been in addition to the school in the old Warwick *Gemeinhaus*—not removed to the Square until a year later and which was probably now intended only for children from the neighborhood. While

the girls' school was being conducted in the Sisters' House, its slowly expanding influence is reflected in church diary entries which refer to girls from Moravian families in Lancaster as entering pupils. It is not unlikely that there were others from other places, for soon increasing demands seemed to justify the erection of a new building for the girls' school. In May, 1769, the cornerstone was laid and in November, of the same year, the girls after a festal love-feast service "went over into the new house," which occupied the site of what is now the principal's office and part of the dining-room of the present Linden Hall. On that date the school had sixteen pupils and two teachers.

Otherwise bright prospects were, however, darkened by the threatening clouds of war. The storm that was breaking reached even into this quiet corner of the Pennsylvania Colony, for after Brandywine there came an order from General Washington that the Brethren's House was to be taken over as a military hospital. In the event, about two hundred of the sick and wounded soldiers were brought to Lititz to be cared for. The dread camp fever which broke out among them spread into the village and claimed many victims.

Meantime, the number of girls had dwindled, the few who were left found their educational opportunities in the Sisters' House. With the brightening skies of promised peace, a diary entry in October of 1784 indicates want of room in the Sisters' House. "Girls' school is being held in the cabinet until the Sisters can again find place for it in their House." The cabinet, or Weaver's House, as it was sometimes called, was a small frame building, a few yards to the west of the Castle. It was removed in 1910.

Notable features of the limited historical records of the early decades of the school are the letters, 1799—1802, of Miss Mary Penry to Mrs. Elizabeth Drinker and the reminiscences of Mrs. Haldeman (Eliza Jacobs) published in the *Linden Hall Echo* of May and September, 1877. The letters of Miss Penry were presented to the library of the school by Mr. John W. Jordan, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who had received them from Mr. Henry Biddle. Miss Penry was a Welsh lady who came to this country in 1744 with her widowed mother. After suffering many trials, she left a circle of friends prominent and influential

in Philadelphia to join the Choir of Single Sisters in Lititz. Mrs. Haldeman's reminiscences were secured and written by an anonymous correspondent for the *Linden Hall Echo* at a time when Mrs. Haldeman was a resident of Harrisburg and 88 years of age. She had entered the school as Eliza Jacobs, at 11 years of age, in 1800, and was the daughter of one of the group of iron masters prominent during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and she became the wife of another pioneer in the iron industry. She died in 1884, at the age of 95.

From these several sources we learn that in 1794 an incident occurred which meant broadening the scope of the school and proved to be determinative for its widening influence in education for women in America. In that year Mrs. Marvel of Baltimore, on a visit to Lititz, was so much impressed with conditions prevailing in the Sisters' House and the school that she insisted the Sisters should take charge of her little daughter Margaret, nine years of age, and permit her to attend the school. Arrangements were made and on September 7, little Peggy, as she came to be called, became the first pupil from other than Moravian families and the first scholar in what was in the next few years to grow into a boarding-school. Sarah Schaeffer from Tulpehocken was the next such pupil, and, during the decade 1794-1804, sixty-three pupils entered.

Sister Penry, writing in 1799, makes the statement, "We have a pretty little Boarding-School in our House (Sisters' House) of eight fine girls, the youngest is from Baltimore and not quite seven years of age. Numerous applications have been made and are still making, but as we cannot increase our numbers for want of teachers, every one must wait for a vacancy." The Sisters' House diary of 1799 informs us, "Our boarders were stationed behind the putz (decoration at the base of a Christmas tree) where they played the piano. Kitty deWitt, not yet seven years of age, gave us especial pleasure by her singing of hymns. She kept the melody wonderfully well."

Sister Penry writes in a letter of April 3, 1801, "Last week our children had their examination and many from Lancaster who have children in our Boarding School came here to see and hear what improvement their children have made. They were

examined in spelling, reading and writing, German and English, arithmetic, grammar, geography, Music, sewing, Knitting, Tambour and embroidery or Satin Stitch, as I believe you call it more properly. I enclose one of the themes which one of our boarders of 8 years of age pronounced with ease and energy—on her Favourite branch of Learning, Music, in which she bids fair to be a proficient. It is so scribbled I fear you will scarce be able to read it. The parents were extremely gratified and were moved to tears at the Piety which was visible in their Music and Singing.'' And under the date of June 14, 1801, she writes, ''Our little boarding school is now 18 in number. . . . We have been hitherto very fortunate in having among our children none whom we could not keep with us. They are in general pliable and good-natured and not corrupted in their manners.'' In a letter of June 8, 1802, she states, ''Our Boarders are not permitted to keep any Novels during their stay with us. They have books fit for children and young persons; History, The Spectator, Guardian, etc. When they are from under our Tuition, they are to do as their Friends think proper—our care is at an end.''

Of the period 1800-1802, Mrs. Haldeman says in her interview, ''The principal of the School was Rev. John Herbst, a short, stout man, and a very fine musician. Miss Sallie Fetter was teacher of music, a very agreeable lady and an excellent performer. The scholars lived in the 'Weaver's House.' They slept in the Sisters' House [our present 'Castle']. . . . Sister Rosel Boyer taught sewing, knitting and darning. . . . The fare was plain, but good and plentiful. Breakfast consisted of bread and milk. In the afternoon there was a '4 o'clock piece' of bread and butter. The day keeper's duties [the girls took turns in acting as day keeper] were manifold. They spread the tables and brought the coffee and a basket of bread from the kitchen. They also said grace at the table. They swept the rooms and made the wood fires, for which purpose they got up earlier than the rest. This was something of a trial in winter, when it was dark, and the day-keeper, with tallow-candle in hand, had frequently to wade through the snow. . . . Walks were taken every day, usually to the Spring, which was then already arched over, and the grounds were provided with seats. . . . The day-keepers in the evening

went to the kitchen to fetch hot water for the teacher's tea. Three times a week there was a Children's Meeting in the church, to which all the scholars went. The church was not warmed in winter, but the services were all very short, not more than half an hour at any time. . . . Other teachers were Sister Polly Heckewelder, daughter of the well known Indian missionary, who taught ornamental needlework, and Sister Culver (who planted the large willow tree). Sister Verona Snider, a cousin of Governor Snider, was the spiritual adviser of the sisters and the girls. Every month the latter were required to go, two at a time, to see her and have a private religious conversation or 'Sprechen,' as it was called. She was a kind, gentle soul, and whatever dread or embarrassment may have been felt beforehand, very soon disappeared in her presence. 'We were a very happy, innocent company. We respected everybody, loved everybody and received only kindness and the most tender care. There was no homesickness or discontent.'

"An important part of the dress of the period was a white linen cap with a pink ribbon, which was worn to church and in class, but was laid aside at other times. The cap was crimped, and the bow was tied so as just to take in the chin. The tying of the latter and the starching and ironing were considered a great art. A cap was expected to last a week. It was a sight to see a waiter full of these beautifully 'done up' caps, as it was brought into the room. Only calico was worn,—a skirt, with a long sack, and always an apron. Ruffles were unknown. 'We were happy without amusements.' Occasionally the girls were invited by neighbors to assist in picking currants, receiving a bottle of the wine afterwards as an acknowledgment.

"Birthdays were always marked with a little festivity. On such occasions, the girls went to the Spring, carrying with them a bottle of currant wine and a basket of cakes by way of refreshment. Sometimes they invited the Principal or the Pastor, on *their* birthdays, to a little feast which was held under the trees on the declivity between the Church and the graveyard, now called the 'Wilderness.' On such occasions when these reverend gentlemen made their appearance, the girls greeted them by singing a hymn of congratulation as they approached.

"At the close of school there was an 'Examination,' consisting of actual public examinations, with music and recitations. Mrs. Haldeman remembers once on such an occasion having delivered a speech on 'Church Music.' Very few printed text-books were used. Almost every lesson was written. Printed music was unknown, the notes all being written with the pen. Hymns were usually sung before or after meals. The text of Scripture was recited in the Room before breakfast. The wash-room was a little closet at one end of the room. Trunks were kept in the garret. One of the Sisters watched all night, seeing that the lard-lamp was kept burning and that the girls did not throw off their covers. . . .

"The usual allowance of pocket-money in those days was 11 d. per week. It was spent mainly for 'mint drops' and cakes, there being a little 'shop' in the Sisters' House.

"The charge for Piano Instruction was 6 d. per half hour, and diligent practising was strictly insisted upon."

As the growing school demanded more ample quarters, the building erected in 1769, and used for other purposes for thirty years from 1775 onward, was again made a part of the school. A third story and a wing were added. On October 26, 1804, the enlarged and renovated building was dedicated, and on the same day the teachers, Sisters Sally Fetter, Maria Heckewelder, Mary Elizabeth Kummer, Rosina Kornmand, Elizabeth Ebert, and Eliza Colver, with twenty-four pupils moved into it.

For a number of decades thereafter the sources yield little historical information. There are but glimpses of interesting events and personages that figured in the life of the institution. There is note of the visit of Governor McKean and his wife in 1805. Courses of study must have experienced considerable development, for by 1822 patrons could be advised that girls might remain in the institution until they were sixteen years of age. There were years of depression and years of prosperity.

When in 1838 the Rev. Eugene Frueauff assumed the principalship, the number of pupils was less than thirty and a sizable current indebtedness had accumulated. Eighteen years later, when, because of failing health, Mr. Frueauff concluded his first term of service as principal, he left the institution in sound financial

condition with an enrollment above a hundred. In his time the main school building was enlarged, and to him is attributed the name "Linden Hall," by which the school is now widely known, for Mrs. Frueauff and he planted "the basswood saplings, destined to add so much to the school besides its name."

With the passing of the old choir-house system in Lititz, during the principalship of the Rev. Julius T. Bechler, the Sisters' House (Castle) was taken over by Linden Hall Seminary. In 1863, during the administration of the Rev. William C. Reichel, the institution was incorporated by act of the Pennsylvania legislature. The school experienced a season of great prosperity during the years succeeding the Civil War.

The administration of the Rev. Herman A. Brickenstein was notable for length of service and variety of achievements, of which there is some record. Courses of study, sufficiently elastic in outline to admit of development, were settled in accordance with standards that gradually attained to general acceptance among schools of like scope and character. In January of 1877, the *Linden Hall Echo* made its appearance as the organ for expression of student opinion and student literary effort. In the salutatory editorial the statement of aim indicates that "we shall do all we can to make the *Echo* what its name implies,—a reflection of our school life and thought, and at the same time an influence on both that shall be quickening and beneficial, so that we shall ourselves be gainers whilst we strive to interest our readers." This publication has made its way with credit among academy and secondary school journals. Of these it is one of the oldest, with continuous existence for nearly seventy years. In 1880 a post-graduate course, so-called, was instituted. During these years, annual commencements became occasions of elaborate programs, which attracted visitors and alumnae in considerable numbers. There is frequent mention of class reunions after 1880. From these emerged the Alumnae Association on June 18, 1891. The first president of this organization was Mrs. George Ryan, of Philadelphia. In addition to renovation and enlargement of buildings, there was significant addition to the plant. The beautiful Memorial Chapel, planned and presented by Mr. George W.

Dixon in memory of his daughter, Mary Dixon, a graduate in the class of 1879, was dedicated in February of 1885.

A later notable addition to the complement of buildings was the new auditorium and gymnasium structure, replacing an older gymnasium that had burned down, in 1907, during the principalship of the Rev. Charles D. Kreider. The high quality of music department attainments of these and earlier years, under capable vocal and instrumental teachers, as attested by many fine "musical soiree" evenings, through the years, has been sustained to the present time.

Significant for Linden Hall, as well as the other church schools, was the action of the Provincial Synod of the Moravian Church in America, Northern Province, of 1898, which turned over the property and financial management of the schools, hitherto controlled by the governing board of the Church, to boards of trustees elected by the Synod for the several schools, respectively, to be administered by them in the interests of the schools themselves. The charter of Linden Hall was amended accordingly, by order of the court, the new board of trustees to consist of nine members, elected by the Synod. Subsequently, upon action of the Synod the charter was further so amended that the board is to consist of fifteen members, nine of these to be elected by the Provincial Synod above named and the remaining six to be elected at any time by these nine thus chosen. By resolution of Synod adopted September 17, 1898, the members of the Provincial Elders' Conference and the Principal of the School were made advisory members of the Board of Trustees of Linden Hall Seminary.

The longest and, in many respects, the most fruitful administration has been that of the present incumbent, the Rev. F. W. Stengel, D.D., stretching over more than three decades, 1915 and onward. After some years of service in the pastorate of Moravian congregations, Dr. and Mrs. Stengel came to Linden Hall to begin what proved to be their real life-work. Well directed efforts at debt liquidation and at improvement of plant and procedures began at once. In five years' time considerable debt reduction, a four-story wing Annex added to the Castle, remodeling of essential domestic establishment quarters, installation of new class-

rooms, renovation of laboratories, domestic science department, chapel and music rooms, as well as enlargement and beautification of the campus could be reported. At that time, too, enrollment had become larger than at any time since 1868, and building up of curriculum had kept pace with the plant improvement.

Naturally, there could be enthusiastic observance of the 175th anniversary of the projection and founding of the school, grown now into Linden Hall. An anniversary souvenir booklet, containing a historical sketch of Linden Hall by Dr. Herbert H. Beck and an outline of the elaborate historical and allegorical pageant prepared by the late Mrs. J. Upton Myers (Elizabeth Lehman, class of '86) and directed by Marguerite Potts, class of '79, testifies to the great interest wakened by the celebration.

In course of the quarter century since then, notable attainments have followed one another in quick succession. The physical plant in changes and additions has undergone virtual transformation. Buildings, furnishings, and equipment have been thoroughly modernized to meet present day educational needs. An in-door swimming-pool, tiled and adequately furnished with sanitary devices, purchase and remodeling of a large house as a faculty house opposite the campus, securing and equipment of a building as a home economics practice house, acquirement and renovation of a stone house of attractive colonial design intended ultimately to be the president's residence are some of the major additions. A central heating-plant has been installed and an athletic field of ample proportions and meeting modern requirements has been completed. Riding has become a popular pastime, the school maintaining its own stables. The campus has been expanded to be a thirty-five acre tract and has been subjected to elaborate treatment with consummate artistry. Enriched with various class memorials, such as lily ponds, rustic and stone bridges, rose-covered pergola, pavilion crowning a hill, the campus has many surprises for the student and the visitor. But no false notes disturb the harmony or the scholastic calm of the "campus beautiful."

In one distant, beautiful spot, within a space enclosed by a Memorial Colonnade and Sun Dial rest the mortal remains of

Mrs. F. W. Stengel, deceased December 11, 1936, after twenty-one years of devoted service in the interests of Linden Hall. The charm of her gracious, friendly spirit is enshrined in the hearts and lives of hundreds of girls who came under her influence.

Inner developments have been commensurate with external improvements. There have been curriculum developments to conform to the standards of secondary schools, as fixed by the Middle States and Maryland Association of Schools and Colleges, accreditation having been secured in 1928. Teachers have been relieved from "duty work" by the substitution of hostesses. Administration and teaching staff alike have been strengthened by the appointment of a dean of instruction, who devotes major time to supervision of instruction and counselling. There have been repeated and unremitting efforts at establishment of effective student government. The post-graduate department, operative since 1880, was expanded into a junior college in September of 1935, and, accordingly, the title of the head of the institution has been changed from principal to president.

Along with these comprehensive developments in outer structure and inner working, an endowment fund, now amounting to $350,000 has been gradually built up, mainly out of earnings, year by year. Meantime, the General Alumnae Association has, through a period of years, gradually built up the Herman A. Brickenstein Memorial Scholarship Fund to an amount of over $12,000. At the present time, this Association, through all its Branches, under the energetic General President, Mrs. J. V. Honeycutt, of Bethlehem, Pa., (A. Dorothy Fry, '07) is actively cooperating in preparation for a worthy observance of the two hundreth anniversary of the projecting and founding of Linden Hall. Full evaluation of the achievements of these later years for the institution and its far flung influences can come only when these have receded somewhat into the perspective history affords.

The end is not yet. At this bi-centennial time, plans are under consideration for the ultimate erection of an adequate group of buildings to serve as the home of the junior college.

Unquestionably, great credit reflects on all those who have in order borne the title of principal of the institution for development true to fundamental principles and for guiding trends in

harmony with these principles. This is the roster of the principals:—

John Herbst, 1794-1802; John Meder, 1802-1805; John F. Frueauff, 1805-1815; Andrew Benade, 1815-1822; John C. Bechler, 1822-1824; Samuel Reinke, 1824-1826; John G. Kummer, 1826-1830; Charles F. Kluge, 1830-1836; Peter Wolle, 1836-1838; Eugene A. Frueauff, 1838-1855; Julius T. Bechler, 1855-1862; William C. Reichel, 1862-1868; Eugene A. Frueauff, 1868-1873; Herman A. Brickenstein, 1873-1892; Charles B. Shultz, 1892-1897; Charles L. Moench, 1897-1898; Charles D. Kreider, 1898-1912; Ernest S. Hagen, 1912-1915; F. William Stengel, 1915—.

All of them have rightly been characterized as men of "high mental calibre and lofty ideals." Some were talented in special directions. A number of them were strong preachers and able church administrators. Some were capable musicians, two of these, John Herbst and John C. Bechler, composers of real merit. Two of them, William C. Reichel and Herman A. Brickenstein, are remembered for their researches and writings in local history and the history of the Moravian Church.

In the administrative efforts of these men the value of certain educational concepts and methods exemplified by early Moravian schools was proven. For one thing, the personality of the teachers counted for much in securing the results of the training given in this two-century period. These results were rich in both the individual and the community. They were secured primarily by the richness of the character and eagerness of the service of the teachers. Linden Hall has had some remarkable teachers and has been fortunate in holding some of them for long terms of service. The learning of many of the teachers may have been narrow and superficial, but the desire of the teachers to help the students secure the great aims of a liberal education was potent, and this potency effected the enrichment and enlargement of the character of the scholars. One of the significant changes in modern educational method has been the shifting of responsibility of the teacher from pupil to subject taught. This change is among the most serious ever made in our American institutions, particularly, those of higher learning. It has wrought benefits. It has made for the increasing value of education, the elevation of

scholarship. It has, also, brought subtle temptation to neglect the splendid personal influence that should, year by year, mould those who in church and state, in public affairs and private life, are to control and guide the community and the nation. Here there has been frank recognition of the obligation of teacher to topic but, at the same time, no weakening of the emphasis on that close study of individual pupils which enables the instructor to discern nature's indications and to adapt instruction to the capacity of each.

Again, education has been regarded not as a thing to be sought for in itself, but as a means to greater perfection of character. Linden Hall was patterned on Moravian schools in which teaching on the basis of the Comenian principles comprehended cultivation of the memory, the reasoning faculty, the will, the affections so as to produce symmetrically developed humanity. Hence, the aim here has been not simply at scholarship but at enlightened womanhood. This involves the purpose to furnish individual pupils with resources that should constitute permanent acquisition and brigthen every situation.

Further it was understood that education should make the youth thoroughly at home in the world, to the end that recognizing opportunities they should best serve their day and generation. This aim imposes a double task on teachers. They must enable pupils to know facts and grasp principles and, also, discipline the mind that is to receive and use the knowledge. In the preparation for life technical knowledge is priceless, but back of specific knowledge there must be the individual, self-disciplined, who knows that by developing native ability reserve force will be gained.

In common with all other Moravian schools, it was realized here that a liberal education must be a Christian education. Moravian educators have always felt as old John Ascham insisted, in the spacious days of great Elizabeth, that as man is made up of two parts, body and soul, and these cannot be divided, so education must have both natures in view. The end and aim of their Christion training was to glorify God. This was the thesis of their Christian, educational effort. True, denominational institutions are often the target of contemporary criticism. It is asserted that

the denominational schools approach everything from a prejudiced point of view and that thought and teaching have ceased to be free in them. This is not true of Moravian schools, looking at the matter in its broader aspects. The denominational character of their schools is to be found chiefly in the influence thrown about the lives of their pupils and the general direction given their activities outside of class-room instruction proper. Through two centures in the educational system observed at this school the discipline of religion has been perpetuated as controlling the will, warming the heart, clarifying conscience, purifying motives, furnishing self-mastery, and seating hope upon life's throne.

The bi-centennial story of Linden Hall, here given in outline, demonstrates that great fundamental principles do reassert themselves through all the changes of a "vast and socially complex civilization" and that trends to which they give character and meaning have a way of persisting. Venerable with the memories and accomplishments of two centuries of honorable activity, Linden Hall now has among other resources the power of the past, the calmness of the past, the elasticity and adaptability acquired through the experiences of the past to meet the problems and the opportunities an all-wise Providence shall call this institution to face in the years ahead.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 13, 1949

The business meeting of the Society was held at 11.15 A.M. in the museum, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, presiding. Eleven members were present. By common consent the reading of the minutes of the annual meeting held October 14, 1948, was omitted as they had been previously approved by the Executive Committee. The minutes of the Executive Committee held September 14, 1949, were read and approved as read.

The treasurer presented his annual financial statement as of October 1, 1949:

Cash on hand, checking account and on time deposit, October 12, 1948	$2,467.26	$2,467.26
Receipts		
Vesper	89.00	
Annual subscriptions	258.00	
Toward life membership	5.00	
Sale of publications	221.85	
Interest	352.95	
Donations from museum gift box	63.32	
Principal and interest from sale of property	4,339.57	$5,329.69
		$7,796.95
Disbursements		
Vesper	$ 161.63	
Commission on collections	7.30	
Light	12.00	
Salaries	300.00	
Check book	3.24	
Insurance	6.00	

Postage	2.06	
Rental of safe deposit box	3.60	
Purchase of U. S. Government Bonds	4,000.00	
Repainting sign	10.00	$4,505.83

Balance cash on hand Oct. 1, 1949	$3,291.12
Distribution, checking account	$1,732.28
time deposits	1,558.84

Investments

Lehigh Valley Annuity Bond	$ 2,000.00
Second National Bank, Nazareth, stock	1,000.00
U. S. Government Bonds	12,610.00
	$17,168.84

Trust funds

Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00
Monroe County Memorial	96.17
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
Publication fund	2,689.43
Nazareth Indian Cemetery pavilion fund	230.45
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00
Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
	$11,773.05

JAMES S. FRY, *Treasurer*

The report, having been properly audited, was approved and ordered filed.

On motion, which was duly seconded, it was suggested that the annual financial report appear in full in the publication of our *Transactions;* this was referred to the Publication Committee.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Publication—It was reported that our last pamphlet, Vol. XIV parts III and IV had been printed and mailed to the members.

Library—The Rev. Edward H. Swavely reported that over three hundred persons had visited the Library and Museum, and sales of publications amounted to $227.97 and that quite a number of accessions have been received. With assistance an inventory of the *Transactions* on hand has been completed.

The president read a letter from our life member, T. H. Mueller, stating that the monument near Sharon, Conn., requires repairs to the foundation and iron fence, and stating that he had ordered the necessary repair to be made; he offered to pay for them personally. His services were accepted with a vote of appreciation.

A letter was read from the Gloucester County, N. J., Historical Society, giving some details of the restoration of the old Moravian Church at Swedesboro, N. J., and requesting financial assistance for this project. It was voted to make a contribution of $100.00.

Bishop K. G. Hamilton reported that the Christian Education Board was assembling data regarding our monuments at former mission stations and expected to have a booklet on this subject completed during the early part of 1950.

A discussion followed pertaining to the advisability of visiting our various monuments to learn of their condition and possible necessary repairs. It was arranged to make the first pilgrimage October 29, 1950, members meeting at the Whitefield House at 1 P.M. The excursion would include the monuments at Lehighton, Gilberts and Stroudsburg. There was a discussion of the provisions of the original deed conveying the cemetery at Hope, N. J., especially obligations relating to the care of the cemetery. Brother A. E. Francke agreed to secure a copy of the deed.

The Secretary announced the names of applicants for membership:

For Active Membership,Mrs. Josephine Anglemire, Martin H. Goerner, Mrs. Frances T. Knouss, Mrs. Virginia V. Laidman, Ralph E. Van Lehn, Mrs. A. V. Vaughn. For Associate Membership, Robert P. L. Frick, Leslie R. Gray, Mrs. Leslie R. Gray, Mrs. Fred T. Heckman, Mrs. Ralph L. Lacey, Miss Jean M. Moore.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Ph.D., D.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Prof. H. H. Beck, Sc.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D., Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D., The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Publication Committee, The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton,

The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Henry B. Rau, The Rev. R. H. Brennecke.

Board of Managers, James S. Fry, John E. Leibfried, Robert J. Desh, and William E. Henry.

Library Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. Samuel Zeller, Th.D., Andrew G. Kern, George W. Hahn, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Graveyard Committee, Robert F. Ziegler, J. Frederick Knecht, and George W. Hahn.

The business meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the business session to the several classifications of membership to which they had been nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church at 1.15 P.M. The trombone choir of the Church announced the annual Vesper Meeting by playing several chorale selections on the lawn of the Church. Approximately one hundred and eighty members and guests were present. After the Vesper meal, the president announced the names of those members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year, namely: The Rev. F. W. Stengel, D.D., Lititz, Pa., and Mrs. S. J. Stanfield, Brooklyn, N. Y. In their memory the customary hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

The president made a few remarks greeting the members and guests who were present. He mentioned that this year we were celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of our mission in Nicaragua; he then presented the Rev. A. O. Danneberger, former Superintendent of missions in Nicaragua, who read a paper entitled "The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, Central America—Its political, economic and religious conditions."

His paper was exceedingly interesting and among other matters stressed the need of the mission to place more responsibility on the shoulders of the native population in an effort to make the

work more progressive and self-sustaining; this had received extended discussion in the General Mission Conference in Nicaragua. The paper also covered the political and economic situation and gave our members a general idea both of our mission work and of conditions that prevail in Nicaragua.

The president then introduced Miss Jean M. Moore of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women at Bethlehem, who read a paper entitled, "The Glory of the Trombones." She was assisted by Miss Gump, an associate at the seminary and college. The account contained much information regarding the use of the trombone as an instrument, together with traditional lore dear to the hearts of local Moravians.

The president called upon Leslie R. Gray of London, Ontario, Canada, who is interested in the renovation of our old mission station at Fairfield, Canada, which the Canadian Government is carrying out, it being a point of historical value. Mr. Gray spoke on the development of the project and stated that they contemplate having it completed by 1952. After singing an appropriate hymn stanza the ninety-second annual meeting of the Society was declared adjourned.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

Rev. F. W. Stengel, D.D.

was born October 18, 1874, at Mamre, Wisconsin. He died September 16, 1949, at Lancaster, Pa. He joined the Society in 1933.

Mrs. S. J. Stanfield

was born April 17, 1867, in Saxony, Germany. She died September 5, 1949, at Westbury, Long Island, N. Y. She joined the Society in 1928.

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Moravian Historical Society

October 12, 1950

The business meeting of the Society convened in the museum at the Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, October 12, 1950, at 11 A.M., the president, the Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, in the chair. Fifteen members were present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting held October 13, 1949, had been approved by the Executive Committee and their reading was dispensed with by common consent. The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held June 2, 1950, were read and approved as read.

The treasurer presented his annual statement, as follows:

Cash on hand in checking account	$1,732.28	
On time deposit	1,558.84	$3,291.12
Receipts		
Vesper	$ 107.50	
Annual subscriptions	283.00	
Sale of publications	47.23	
Interest	453.12	
Fees for research work	15.00	$ 905.85
		$4,196.97
Disbursements		
Vesper	$ 134.85	
Printing and stationery	8.50	
Printing *Transactions*	681.34	
Postage	24.44	
Salaries	300.00	
Cleaning museum, etc.	40.00	
Insurance	13.60	
Safe deposit box	3.60	

Commission on collections	7.10	
Gloucester County, N. J. Historical Society, donation	100.00	
Postal cards	5.00	
Light	12.00	
Stamped envelopes	25.00	$1,355.43

Balance cash on hand Oct. 1, 1950	$2,841.54
Distribution, Checking account	$1,267.08
Time deposits	1,574.46
Investments	
Lehigh Valley annuity bonds	$ 2,000.00
Second National Bank, Nazareth, stock	1,000.00
U. S. Government bonds	12,610.00
	$17,184.46
Trust Funds	
Helen Bell Memorial	$ 3,000.00
Monroe County Memorial	96.17
Zeisberger Memorial	257.00
Publication Fund	2,689.43
Indian Cemetery, Nazareth, pavilion fund	230.45
Eugene Rau Estate	5,000.00
Albert Brodhead Estate	500.00
	$11,773.05

JAMES S. FRY, *Treasurer*

The report, having been properly audited, was approved and ordered filed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES

The special committee comprised of the treasurer, James S. Fry, and the secretary which had been appointed to visit the Hope, N. J., cemetery and to report at this meeting made the following statement. They inspected the cemetery and found that the grass had been mowed and that it was in a fairly good condition, excepting that some of the tombstones were slightly sunken and partly covered with grass; other tombstones having been removed some years ago are still piled along side of the cemetery. It will be difficult to place them on the respective graves. The

committee recommended that a large marker be placed on the grounds with the names of the deceased cast on a bronze tablet.

On motion it was voted to request the secretary to inquire into the price of a marker and tablet and the general expense involved, and report to the Executive Committee.

In connection with the Hope cemetery Rev. A. E. Francke submitted a letter he had received from Mr. Charles R. Westbrooke, of Hope, N. J., secretary of the Moravian Cemetery Association, soliciting financial funds for the care of the cemetery. On motion it was voted to contribute $15.00 annually for this purpose and have the committee composed of the treasurer and secretary contact Mr. Westbrooke and discuss the situation.

It was reported that the Indian Cemetery at Nazareth, Pa., was in need of attention, including foundation of the monument, grounds, pavilion and path or approach to the cemetery. This was referred to the Cemetery Committee with instructions for it to determine if a right-of-way for a driveway from the main road to the cemetery could be arranged with the owner of the property adjacent to the cemetery; at present the approach consists only of a path.

Brother Henry L. Williams, having spent some time in England, gave a report of the Moravian Historical Society of the British Province and extended their greetings to our Society and proposed an exchange of publications. After discussion it was voted to forward them a full set of our *Transactions,* if available, and place them on our exchange list.

The secretary presented the following names of applicants for membership in the Society:

For Active Membership, Miss Thelma A. Beck, E. Cockshutt, Otto Dreydoppel, Arthur Freeman, Mrs. Ethel G. Schwarze, Rev. Gordon A. Stoltz, Miss Muriel L. Wilson, Mrs. Georgine Weinlick, Christian D. Weber. Associate Membership, Mrs. Rachel de Rosset. The following names were transferred to Life Membership, Dr. Anna C. Clauder and Henry A. Shimer.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

President, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, D.D., Ph.D.

Vice Presidents, The Rev. E. S. Hagen, D.D., Prof. H. H. Beck, Sc.D., The Rt. Rev. J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D., L.H.D., The Rt. Rev. Kenneth G. Hamilton, Ph.D.

Secretary, William E. Henry.

Librarian, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Treasurer, James S. Fry.

Publication Committee, The Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton, The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp, Mr. Henry B. Rau, The Rev. Robert H. Brennecke.

Board of Managers, James S. Fry, John E. Leibfried, Robert J. Desh, William E. Henry.

Library Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, A.M., The Rev. Samuel Zeller, Th.D., Andrew G. Kern, George W. Hahn, The Rev. Robert I. Giering, The Rev. Edward H. Swavely.

Graveyard Committee, J. Frederick Knecht, George W. Hahn, Robert F. Ziegler, James S. Fry.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met immediately after the business session of the Society and elected the nominees presented at the business meeting to the several classifications of membership to which they were nominated, and adjourned.

VESPER MEETING

The annual meeting was continued in the social rooms of the Nazareth Moravian Church at 1.15, P.M. The trombone choir of the Church announced the annual Vesper Meeting by playing several chorales on the lawn of the Church. Approximately one hundred and sixty-five members and guests were present. After the Vesper meal, the president announced the names of those members who had departed to their eternal rest during the past year as follows: Lewis J. H. Grossart, The Rev. Robert E. Clewell, Miss Daisy Bittner, Mrs. Flora D. Lees, Jesse M. Bodder, Theophilus W. Shields, Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Frank J. Leibert, Col. Charles H. Traeger, Prof. Garth L. Howland. In their memory the customary hymn was sung, the members and guests standing.

The president greeted the members and guests who were present and then introduced Miss Haller of Philadelphia, who read a paper entitled "Facets of Early Moravian Education." Her data had been compiled from records in our archives in Bethlehem.

She confined her paper to five facets of Moravian education. She pointed out the modern progressiveness of this educational system when viewed from the distance of two hundred years. Another facet to be noted, she said, was the extensiveness of Moravian educational work, as seen both in the wide variety of schools which Moravians conducted in many places and in their willingness to train children belonging to all manner of creeds and races. A third facet was the deep religious value which the early Brethren placed upon every phase of their educational program. The fourth facet was the intensive nature of the training they offered, as evidenced by the length of the training period and the demands made during it upon the time and thought and energy of the children. The last facet to be emphasized was the rich tradition which came to Moravian education in the eighteenth century as a heritage from the Ancient Unity. These facets could be said to combine to form the jewel of M - E - R - I - T, symbolizing the value of early Moravian education.

After favorable comments upon this paper, the president introduced Mrs. Alma E. Gray, of London, Canada, who read a paper entitled, "A Missionary Venture on the St. Clair." She described how Christian Frederick Dencke, then a teacher at Nazareth Hall, in the Spring of 1800 left for Fairfield, on the Thames River, Ontario, Canada, for missionary work among the Chippewa Indians. During this activity he covered many points along the St. Clair river. For lack of sufficient interest shown by the Indians, this work was finally abandoned. At Fairfield itself, interested friends, aided by a grant from the Canadian Government, have recently erected several buildings and a monument. This was completed and dedicated August 13-14, 1950. The Rt. Rev. S. H. Gapp and the Rt. Rev. K. G. Hamilton were present and took part in the services; also present were the Rev. Edward H. Swavely and his wife.

The secretary read the names of those persons who had joined the Society during the past year.

The president asked the members present for remarks or any business that should be brought before the meeting. As there was no response, he declared the ninety-third annual meeting adjourned after singing the fifth stanza on the leaflet, as an appropriate closing hymn.

WILLIAM E. HENRY, *Secretary*

In Memoriam

Lewis J. H. Grossart

was born 1866 in Egg Harbor, N. J. He died December 27, 1949, in Allentown, Pa. He joined the Society in 1913.

Rev. Robert E. Clewell

was born January 30, 1871, in Harmony, Iowa. He died May 16, 1950, in Nazareth, Pa. He joined the Society in 1934.

Miss Daisy Bittner

was born March 29, 1872, in Lancaster, Pa. She died June 12, 1950, in Lancaster, Pa. She joined the Society in 1934.

Mrs. Flora D. Lees

was born August 5, 1865, in Bethlehem, Pa. She died in the same city on April 11, 1950. She joined the Society in 1942.

Jesse M. Bodder

was born August 21, 1890, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died April 16, 1950, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1916.

Theophilus W. Shields

was born November 3, 1879, in Olney, Ill. He died April 22, 1949, in New York City, N. Y. He joined the Society in 1945.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries, Litt.D.

was born November 12, 1871, in Winston-Salem, N. C. She died November 29, 1949, in Winston-Salem, N. C. She joined the Society in 1907. Elected a vice-president in 1920, Miss Fries served the Society in many ways, and read valuable papers on several occasions. Her lifetime interest in Moravian history in her capacity of archivist of the Southern Province gave a rich background to her work. Vol. XI, part III of the *Transactions* contains her lectures on "Moravian Customs; Our Inheritance."

FRANKLIN J. LEIBERT

was born February 17, 1860, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died December 5, 1949, in Long Island City, N. Y. He joined the Society in 1920.

COL. CHARLES H. TRAEGER

was born May 16, 1880, in Bethlehem, Pa. He died May 6, 1949, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1944.

GARTH L. HOWLAND

was born July 25, 1887, in Charles City, Iowa. He died on April 20, 1950, in Bethlehem, Pa. He joined the Society in 1944. He contributed two authoritative papers relating to the architecture of the Moravian buildings in Bethlehem which are published in Vol. XIII, Part IV and in Vol. XIV, Part II, of the *Transactions*.

The Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua Central America

Its political, economic and religious conditions.

THE REV. A. O. DANNEBERGER, D.D.

Early History

In 1502 Nicaragua emerged out of the dark past into the light of present history when Christopher Columbus on his fourth and last voyage sailed along the Atlantic Coast of then unknown Nicaragua. Where the Wangks River, or Rio Segovia, which traverses almost the entire country from West to East, sheds its often turbulent waters into the Caribbean Sea, he sheltered his fleet during a hurricane in a quiet bay on the Northern coast and, out of gratitude to God for His gracious protection, he named the place, Cabo Gracias a Dios—Cape Thanks to God.

During the centuries of Spanish colonial administration the Roman Catholic Church was the pioneer of evangelization of the Pacific Coast. There, to quote Dr. Kenneth G. Grubb, a co-editor of the WORLD DOMINION, in his book, RELIGION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, "a baptized semi-paganism came into existence." Attempts from the West to conquer the Atlantic Coast failed, however, and the invaders returned whence they had come, calling the Indians, "indianos bravos." Later efforts to reach the Mosquito Coast, as it is also called, with the Word of God were likewise without success. A priest from Andalusia, alone or accompanied by warriors, worked among the Indians near Cabo Gracias a Dios and baptized many; but it is reported that he and another priest were murdered during an attack by hostile tribes.

In 1670 the Indians placed themselves under the protection of Great Britain, and during the reign of James II the Indian king was recognized as such by a document bearing the privy seal of Jamaica. The Indians also allied themselves with the buccaneers who had their headquarters on some West Indian islands, whence they made predatory excursions against Spanish trading vessels. In the many lagoons and rivers along the coast they found safe

refuge. Old rusty guns left behind in various places testify to the activities of the pirates; but efforts to locate hidden treasures have to date ended in failure. Bluefields, the main city of the Atlantic Coast, numbering approximately 8,000 inhabitants at present, is said to have derived its name from an outstanding leader, called Bleeveld. After the power of the buccaneers had been broken and Spaniards from the Pacific shore attempted to advance anew towards the territory of the Indians, the latter sought still closer alliance with England.

In what manner the connection between Great Britain and the Miskito Indians began is not known, but it is certain and on record that while the Duke of Albemarle was governor of Jamaica, to which office he was appointed in 1687, the Indians made a formal concession of sovereignty of their country to the King of England and that in consequence of that cession the chief of the Miskitos received his appointment as king by a commission given him by the Governor of Jamaica in the name and on behalf of the King of England. The Miskito King was a pawn and puppet—if the truth must be told—in the intricate game of empire-building.

Ten years after the treaty with the British government had been concluded, three British colonies were established: at Bluefields, at Cabo Gracias a Dios, and at the mouth of Black River which later was sold by an Indian king to Honduras. During a maritime war between England and Spain the former erected forts along the coast which were occupied by English troops until peace was established in 1763. Thereafter trade in mahogany, rubber and other forest products flourished with Europe, Jamaica and neighboring Spanish colonies. It is reported that over one thousand white people lived on the coast and carried on the trade with twelve sea-going vessels.

For the Indians it was a period of peace under the patronage of foreigners. For a time Spain even paid tribute to the Miskito Indians for permission to use the water way from Greytown up the San Juan River. This time of peace on the Atlantic Coast was mainly due to political disturbances on the Pacific Coast. In 1821 independence was proclaimed and effectively established in most of Central America, which continued as one independent and federal republic until 1839, when it was dissolved into the various Central American Republics of the present day. In 1855 the unprincipled adventurer William Walker, led an invasion of Nica-

ragua which the above mentioned Dr. Grubb calls "the scandalous conquest by a North American filibuster." This dramatic episode in a measure paralleled the Maximilian tragedy in Mexico. Walker was born in Nashville, Tennessee, was graduated at Nashville University and studied medicine at Edinburgh and Heidelberg. After a fruitless attempt to found a republic in Lower California and the refusal of the Mexicans to be "liberated," he made his way with fifty-five followers to Nicaragua. During five years of his tempestuous career this young American adventurer became in turn "liberator," dictator, president and refugee from Nicaragua. Twice arrested and deported by U. S. forces, he was finally made a prisoner by an officer of the British navy and was surrendered to the authorities in Honduras. He was tried by court-martial and shot, September 12, 1860. All these political upheavals, however, left the still independent Miskito Indians untouched.

England's protectorate over the Miskito Indians continued for many years after the removal of the English troops. The Indian King George, who had been crowned in Jamaica in the presence of the British Governor, rendered faithful service during the English-Spanish war. Admiral Nelson, who defeated the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar in 1805, had sailed from Port Royal, Jamaica, to the Mosquito Coast in 1780, in order to obtain command of Lake Nicaragua and capture the rich cities of Granada and Leon. Nelson's responsibilities ended when the troops disembarked at the mouth of the San Juan River, but finding that not a man had ever been up that river, he accompanied the party. The expedition had started three months too late. Water was low, much unwholesome, evil-smelling mud was exposed, and shoals and sandbanks had to be avoided. Nelson, though smitten by sickness, continued on duty, and, thanks to King George's personal assistance as pilot, he brought about the fall of Fort San Juan. Another king, George Frederick, was crowned in the cathedral of Belize, the capital of British Honduras, surrounded by the governor and Indian chiefs. He was transported back to his country on board a British man-of-war. Unmourned by his chiefs and people, he died by an assassin's hand in 1824.

It was during the reign of King Robert Charles Frederick that the governor of British Honduras, Colonel McDonald, appeared in 1841 on the man-of-war, "The Tweed" in Greytown, at the mouth of the San Juan River, to demand from the Nicaraguan

government that the Indians' control of Greytown be maintained. The Miskito king accompanied him on that occasion. The British government took the commander of Greytown, Colonel Quijano, prisoner and exiled him for some time to Cabo Gracias a Dios. A complaint by the Nicaraguan government to the British Crown only brought a new recognition of the rights of the Indians under British protectorate.

In 1860 the British protectorate over the Miskito Indians came to an end, when Great Britain signed a treaty in Managua, relinquishing to the Nicaraguan government all her rights over the Mosquito Coast. However, certain privileges, such as freedom from taxes and from military service, were granted to the Indians living in the Miskito Reserve, which extended about 150 miles from Bluefields to the mouth of the Hausen River, a few miles north of present day Puerto Cabezas. This state of affairs was cut short by a coup d'etat carried out by President Zelaya on February 12, 1894, and the Indians lost the last vestige of their independence. The young Miskito king was exiled to Jamaica, where he received a pension from the British government until his death on January 10, 1908. When the Mosquito Reservation was incorporated into the Republic of Nicaragua, Nicaraguan laws and language automatically became effective in the newly created Department of Zelaya, a name that was changed to Bluefields in April 1911.

An Event of Great Influence

George Augustus Frederick was the last of the Miskito kings. He had been a weak, ineffective ruler, addicted to drink. What made his reign important was the fact that it signalized an event of far reaching significance for the East Coast of Nicaragua. A new spiritual factor entered into the situation with the arrival of the first Moravian missionaries. There can be no question that this was the beginning of a spiritual influence in the country which has been very evident in the cultural development of the people.

In 1844 Prince Carl of Prussia and Prince Schoenburg-Waldenburg sent three Germans to the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua to investigate the possibility of a colonization enterprise. The report of the findings was unfavorable and no practical results followed. An interesting account of their travels, printed in a book

containing some 274 pages by a publishing house in Berlin, made Prince Schoenburg-Waldenburg realize that the Mosquito Coast was less in need of German immigrants than of missionaries, who would endeavor to raise the Miskito Indians from their superstition and gross ignorance by bringing them the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. He appealed to the directing board of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, Saxony. It in turn instructed two missionaries, Heinrich Gottlob Pfeiffer and Abraham Amadeus Reinke, at that time stationed in Jamaica, to investigate. They sailed from Kingston by way of Greytown and arrived in Bluefields on Sunday, May 2, 1847. There they received a warm welcome from the British consul general, Patrick Walker, to whom they brought a letter of recommendation from Lord Palmerston, premier of England. The Miskito King George Augustus Frederick also received them cordially and promised them a sizable piece of land in Bluefields, if they returned. The Reverend Mr. Pfeiffer went to Germany to report to the General Synod at Herrnhut. As the result, it was decided to begin a mission among the inhabitants of Eastern Nicaragua. The Rev. Heinrich Gottlieb Pfeiffer and his wife, and the Rev. Eugene Lundberg, accompanied by Ernest Kandler, a layman and carpenter, left London for Bluefields on January 4, 1849. Fifty soldiers and one hundred convicts were their fellow passengers. In Gibraltar the vessel was detained for eight days in cholera quarantine, and on departing from that port it ran aground on a sandbank. A British man-of-war saved it from shipwreck. At last the party of four reached Kingston, Jamaica, on February 22. They left on March 10 for their final destination, arriving at the Bluff on Monday, March 13, and in Bluefields the following day. This, then, is the birthday of the Moravian Mission in Nicaragua.

What the Missionaries Found

The condition of the country itself can be judged from a vivid description by Rev. R. R. Gregory, the Caribbean agency secretary of the American Bible Society, who visited Bluefields in recent years. He writes that "during my thirty years in Latin America I have never found another mission that has chosen such a difficult and uninviting field as have the Moravians. I have seen only part of the territory from the air. What one sees is jungles and rivers flowing through lowlands. Imagine a territory about two hundred and forty miles in length and fifty miles in width

with a population of barely thirty thousand people. At present only a few places can be visited by airplane, and for the superintendent to visit the entire field would take several months.''

In those early days travelling in sailing vessels along the sea shore and in canoes along the rivers, over rapids and falls, was most hazardous. River travelling is still quite dangerous, especially during the rainy season when the streams rise tremendously, occasionally as much as forty feet during a single night. The crumbling banks bring down trees which, sweeping down the rapid current, render navigation difficult. According to the records of the Nicaragua Canal Company, over 296 inches of rain fell at Greytown in 1890. Inundated areas provide favorable breeding places for the mosquitoes, and malaria fever is the most prevalent disease.

At the arrival of the first missionaries Bluefields was, and to a large extent still is, inhabited by so-called ''Creoles,'' the descendants of negroes and mulattoes who had come over from Jamaica and in some cases intermarried with Indians. They all speak the English language.

In spite of the presence of nominal Creole Christians there was no preacher, church, schoolmaster or schoolhouse; consequently superstition, credulity and ignorance prevailed among the people. Full of Christian enthusiasm and with a wonderful amount of patience, the missionaries began the work of regeneration in the usual methodical German way, by gradually spreading the seed of the gospel and by opening a school for the education of the young in Bluefields.

The first church in the entire region was organized by the Moravian Mission in 1852. Prior to that time some visits had been made by the Anglican clergy, but they had been suspended. The natives of Bluefields expressed complete satisfaction with the work of the Moravian missionaries who, as they put it, had come to them with the Bible in one hand and the axe in the other and who were teaching them to work and to pray. In 1861 a Spanish priest spent a few months in Bluefields and on the Coast, baptizing as many candidates as possible, without any previous instruction. He did not, however, carry out his promise of returning and settling in the country. Thirty years later the Roman Catholic Church began a definite work; but by that time the Moravian Church was well established.

Church records were scrupulously kept from the very beginning, and until this day the government of Nicaragua resorts to them for reference. The statistics of 1855 report fifty-three baptized members; in 1864 there were 629 under the care of the missionaries. The Indian Princess Agnes became one of the first converts.

The Missionary Work among the Indians

Systematic work among the Indians living north of Bluefields was begun in 1858 and gradually spread along the entire coast and up the many rivers and creeks. Constrained by the love of Christ His servants pushed forward in small, filthy sailing vessels by sea, in narrow canoes up the winding rivers and on foot across the stony, shadeless savannahs. Malaria fever claimed many victims before its cause and cure were fully understood. A number of graves in Bluefields, as well as others in various Indian villages, testify that the work has been founded on sacrifices, tears and precious lives laid down for the Master.

The Miskito Indians are estimated at about twenty thousand, which number exceeds that of all the other Indian tribes of the Mosquito Coast combined. Ethnological studies have so far led to no satisfactory conclusions as to the origin of the Miskito Indians. The Sumu Indians are split into different subtribes speaking various dialects. Their total number is estimated at about three thousand or three thousand five hundred.

The more primitive Sumu prefer to live in remote places far up the river. They come out to the ports to trade their plantation products and the salted meat of wild hogs which they kill with bow and arrow or with shot-gun. Apparently it is an inherited fear which causes them to shun contact with the outside world. A number of Miskito villages along the coast and on the lower rivers still bear Sumu names. It is, therefore, likely that Sumu Indians once dwelled there but were driven further inland by hostile Miskito Indians. The Mongolic spot or "oriental mark," a bluish-gray spot in the sacral region, which gradually disappears in adult life, is met with in all the Sumu tribes. This seems to indicate their descent from the Mongolian race. In stature and habits they show an unmistakable similarity to the Eskimos.

The Revival

By 1870 the membership of the Moravian Church had passed the first thousand. One of the most striking incidents in the his-

tory of the Mission was the great revival in 1881. Early in February a young Creole woman in Magdala, now called Pearl Lagoon, was suddenly overcome with fear and trembling at a funeral. After three days of inward struggle she gained the assurance that her sins were forgiven. Soon others were affected in the same way.

Quite independent of Magdala the revival started simultaneously in Bluefields. On a Sunday afternoon the people had gathered for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The congregation was stirred to its depth, and most of the communicants went from the church to a widow's home for prayer and supplication. There was much weeping and conviction of sin. In those days the church bell might be rung at any hour, and always the church would be so crowded that there was no room to kneel for prayer. It needed tact and wisdom to control the wave of emotion. Over one hundred converts asked to be admitted into church fellowship. The nets threatened to break. Indians living in the darkness of heathenism, superstition and ignorance, far away from the personal influence of the missionaries, were aroused from their apathy and, on their own initiative, travelled in small sea-going boats to the mission stations in search of the truth.

Incident Illustrating the Effectiveness of the Gospel

To relate just one incident from those days. An Indian woman had been instructed and baptized, and then returned to her former heathen surroundings in a large Indian village. Debaucheries were of frequent occurrence, especially on days when the "isigni," the roaming spirit of the deceased, for which food and drink had been placed on the grave, was captured by the "sukia," or witch-doctor. On such occasions the natives made an intoxicating beverage from the cassava plant, from which tapioca is also derived. The cassava, rich in starch, is first peeled and cooked and then chewed by the women; when thoroughly saturated with saliva, it is spit out into a vessel in order to activate fermentation. The latter process is accelerated by the addition of sugar-cane juice and maize. The product, left until thoroughly fermented, made the natives furiously drunk. Old grudges and rivalries were revived, old grievances raked up, insults resented and payments of old debts demanded. Fist fights occurred on the slightest provocation. Women rushed to their huts to collect and hide the ma-

chétes (heavy cutlasses) and the shot-guns. The writer of *Tawira*[1] describes the effects of such an orgy by saying: "Women were thrown to the ground, children cried, dogs barked, until the whole population lay drunk in the grass. The silence was interrupted by weeping children crawling over the bodies of their stupified mothers and by the groans of the men who had been wounded in the fight."

Monica, as she was named on the day of her baptism, set her face against this evil. She would rise at midnight from her hard, bamboo bed, shoulder an axe and smash the container of the intoxicating liquid in the hut where the drunken orgy was planned. The swift blows of her axe were heard in the stillness of the night. Nobody dared to stay her hand, realizing that she was possessed by a greater than human power.

Problems

The change in national allegiance of the Indians was slow and fraught with problems, as a result of their former affiliation with England. According to a long current story, Queen Victoria was supposed to have admonished her son and successor on her deathbed not to forget the Miskito Indians. Negroes from Jamaica had settled among the Indians. They prided themselves in being British subjects and fanned the flame of affection for England. Two Indians were sent to London, at the beginning of this century, to interview the British King on behalf of their people. Apparently they fell into the hands of some officials who sent them back with all sorts of vague promises. Two local insurrections occurred against the central government though without any serious consequences. For the missionaries it was not easy to reconcile their love for the Indians with the respect which they owed to the Nicaraguan government. Yet Dr. Grubb is right when he states: "The sound influence of the Moravian Mission was demonstrated when the coast was incorporated into the Republic of Nicaragua and a step which might well have occasioned much difficulty was smoothly accomplished."

During the first world war the Indians were perplexed by the fact that two Christian nations had locked together in a death struggle. Had not both countries sent them messengers with the

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[1]This term means "straight haired" and signifies a pure blooded Indian.

Gospel message of pardon and peace? After discussing the problem among themselves, they sent a delegate to the writer requesting him to send letters to the King of England and the Emperor of Germany to plead with them in the name of the Miskito Indians to cease the struggle. It was a hopeless but honest endeavor on the part of former fierce warriors who in the past would swim across the river with a knife in their mouth to attack another village, but who had now been changed into peace loving people.

Political Disturbances

Continuous political disturbances in the republic added to the difficulties which the missionaries faced. For years Granada and Leon alternated as the capital of Nicaragua; finally Managua, the present capital, was built as a compromise. Now the Conservatives and Liberals struggle incessantly for power in the new capital, power which assures revenues and high offices to the party in control. For the other side it means the loss of all influence, all local prestige; often it spells the danger of personal exile for those leaders who in defeat have no army to protect themselves.

During the regime of José Santos Zelaya, between 1900 and 1910, ten revolutions occurred. For a few years he had ordered all the Moravian schools to be closed, because they were not prepared at that time to meet the requirements of his government to teach all subjects in the Spanish language. During the summer 1912, a force of about 2,600 United States soldiers was stationed along the Atlantic Coast. By the end of the year all were removed except a legation guard of four hundred marines. Two years later another detachment of marines landed in Bluefields. Both the Taft and Wilson administrations took the stand that the United States had a "moral mandate" in Nicaragua for the "preservation of peace." These policies, however, were abandoned later on.

The activities of the guerrilla leader, General Sandino, whose armed followers were responsible for the ruthless murder of the the Reverend Karl Bregenzer in 1931, belong to the sad experiences of recent years. Having as their device a machéte and a decapitated head, the bandits came bursting from ambush, shooting and yelling "Viva Sandino"; they killed and looted mercilessly, aiming at the extermination of all North Americans. Missionaries and their families had to take refuge in Bluefields; others were taken by surprise on their visits to out-stations and

had to spend several days and nights on sandbanks to escape the furious onslaughts. "The little chap who defied a Colossus," as one paper wrote, "quits his gadfly campaign after five years of bloody stinging," The man that the U. S. Marines could never catch came out of the jungle by airplane with an automatic pistol at his hip, but words of peace on his tongue. "Why discuss the basis of peace?" he said. "It is our duty as Nicaraguans to establish it, as we are brothers. I have nothing against North Americans personally. Let them come and work here. However, for them to come as our bosses, we should not accept." In spite of all these obstacles a vigorous advance was made in 1930 across the border line into the Mosquitia of Honduras; definite mission work was also established both in the gold mining districts and beyond the falls and rapids of the Wangks River among the remotest Indian settlements.

The Economic Difficulties

The economy of the Atlantic Coast naturally plays an important part in mission work. It is subjected to frequent floods, insect plagues and occasional hurricanes with their devastating results. On the broad tropical plains bananas, sugar cane, beans and rice are cultivated. Pine, mahogany, cedar and other valuable woods are exploited without any attempt at re-planting. Lowland jungles remain the chief barrier to transportation. In some areas roads are non-existent, and trails are kept open with great difficulty on account of the luxuriant growth of the tropics. "The Highway" running through Central America does not benefit the Atlantic Coast; but a road is under construction from the Pacific side to Rama City, which is several hours run in a motor boat from Bluefields. Progress has been extremely slow, but it now is possible to use it at the very height of the dry season.

The prospect of digging a canal across Nicaragua and bringing prosperity to both the Pacific and Atlantic Coast has not been realized. It may seem strange that such a small item as a postage stamp should have played an important role in the selection of Panama as that site of the inter-oceanic canal in preference to Nicaragua; but a Nicaraguan postage stamp was the deciding factor in favor of the Panama Canal. When the project of constructing a canal to join the Atlantic and the Pacific was discussed in the U.S.A. Congress in 1902, the general inclination, following the recommendation of the Isthmanian Canal Commission, was to

build it across Nicaragua. The French government, however, had a favorable concession for the construction of a canal through Panama, though it had been forced to suspend operations because of financial difficulties, aggravated by a very high death rate owing to malaria and other tropical diseases. It was therefore anxious to sell the concession to the United States. To obstruct the Nicaraguan deal a staff of engineers came to Washington to argue their case before Congress. Among other arguments the French contended that the canal through Nicaragua was impracticable because it was a volcanic country and therefore subject to earthquakes, whilst Panama was free from such disturbances. Coincidentally the volcano Monotombo in Nicaragua began to erupt at the time. F. Salter, a native of Nicaragua, from whose manuscript we quote, relates that in the midst of a deadlock of the discussion, the head of the French mission, who happened to be a philatelist, came across a postage stamp with the reproduction of the volcano Momotombo which the government of Nicaragua had issued to advertise the beauties of the country. Quick to grasp the significance of the situation the Frenchman lost no time in visiting stamp dealers in Washington and purchased several hundred of those stamps depicting the volcano in action. Each senator and representative in Congress received one with a clipping of the report of the eruption and a letter stating that the stamp was an official verification of volcanic activity in Nicaragua. Here was an actual proof that could not be ignored. This won the Senate and soon afterwards it voted to purchase the French concession in Panama, the route of the present Isthmian waterway. Mr. Salter claims that the device was not fair since Momotombo is more than one hundred miles distant from the canal route as planned. He further states that a record carried on for a hundred and more years shows that earthquakes have occurred with less frequency in Nicaragua than in Panama or Costa Rica or Colombia over a corresponding period.

Medical work among Indians

For a number of years there have been missionaries on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua who, by a year's medical training at Livingstone College in London, England, were qualified to render simple medical services. Thus the writer, who attended to patients who had travelled a hundred miles and more in search for medical assistance, could claim to be the best physician in a vast district,

because he was the only one. The witch-doctors could not compete with him and their power and influence decreased steadily. Malarial fever, tuberculosis and hookworm are the most common ailments. A systematic treatment of the latter has saved the lives of many children, as the Indians gratefully acknowledge. In 1933, with the arrival of Dr. A. D. Thaeler Jr., M.D., a thorough medical work was established in Bilwaskarma on the Wangks River, a spot easy of access for thousands on the coast and for others from up and down the river and from the adjacent parts of Honduras. This place, formerly an insignificant Indian village, has become a great center of physical and spiritual healing, having a hospital with thirty beds, a church holding eight hundred people, a training school for native nurses, and a Bible School to educate native pastors who live in simple houses made of bamboo and thatch. Bilwaskarma has an airfield with a regular service of planes. The name Bilwaskarma—"Bilwas" means snake in Sumu, and "karma" channel in the Miskito language—is found in the time table of the Pan American Airways among the names of the world's largest cities, such as London, New York, Calcutta, Buenos Aires. A small post office is also under the management of the doctor.

Linguistic Work

The linguistic work of the Moravian Mission deserves special mention. The New Testament and parts of the Old Testament, a hymnbook with 346 hymns and a number of liturgies, at present in the seventh edition, a scholarly Miskito Grammar, published by Dr. G. R. Heath in 1925, a dictionary and other works have been compiled. Of this linguistic achievement Dr. Grubb writes: "This is probably the most complete religious literature created in any 'lowland' Indian tongue in Latin America."

Recognition by the Nicaraguan Government

The missionaries, after years of misunderstandings and misinterpretations on account of the antagonistic attitude of the Indians to the government, caused by the incorporation of the Atlantic Coast in the Republic of Nicaragua, have steadily gained the approval and the confidence of the Nicaraguan officials. General Anastacio Somoza, the President of the Republic with brief intermissions since 1936, during a steamer voyage from Puerto Cabezas to New Orleans, praised the work of the Moravian Mission in his country to the writer and his wife, who were

fellow-passengers. Two missionaries, who called on the Nicaraguan Consul in New Orleans for an entry permit to Nicaragua, when presenting the fee, were told that the Moravian Mission owed nothing to Nicaragua but that Nicaragua owed much to the Moravian Mission. Again, the confidence of the government towards the missionaries was unmistakably shown when the writer was asked to handle the funds for paving the first streets to be paved in the history of Bluefields. For two and a half years that missionary, then treasurer of the Moravian Mission, sat with the committee of prominent men, such as the son of the late President Zelaya and General Estrada who had ousted Zelaya and followed him as president in 1910.

Not long ago the NUEVA PRENSA, a daily newspaper in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua and a strong Roman Catholic area, paid an unusual tribute to the Moravian Mission in a striking article under the heading, "The Great Work of Civilization of the Moravian Mission in Nicaragua." The following are some quotations from this article: "Nobody can deny the great work of civilization which the Moravian Mission has accomplished in Nicaragua. Their labors are worthy of all praise. From the year 1849, when the first missionaries settled in this country, they have scattered the seed of civilization in all villages and towns of the Mosquito Coast, especially in the villages inhabited by Miskito and Sumu Indians. They have founded schools, opened dispensaries and, last but not least, they have erected a magnificent hospital which is a great boon to the population. For many years the missionaries at the cost of great self-denial and self-sacrifice have made noble, indeed heroic efforts to bring the blessings of civilization to the Nicaraguans of the coast. The inhabitants of this area are filled with gratitude to the Moravian missionaries who have brought them public schools and have lavished upon them medical care and instructed them in the fundamentals of Christian faith. All along the coast we find traces of their fruitful activity which meets with our entire approval, not only because it has assisted the work of the state authorities but also because it contributed to the moral and material development of these villages." After writing about the school work and the establishment of literature in Miskito, the article continues, "As a charitable work in the interest of the people's health the Moravian Mission has set up numerous dispensaries all along the coast and a few years

ago it opened a magnificent hospital at Bilwaskarma where many inhabitants of that area come to regain their health, sure of finding there the most careful attention. Bilwaskarma has become celebrated through its hospital, founded by Dr. A. D. Thaeler, a distinguished doctor highly esteemed in the capital of Nicaragua, where, during the stay of some months, he established his reputation both as physician and surgeon."

The Policy of the Mission

The need in mission work of today is for a more vigorous effort to place greater responsibility upon the shoulders of the indigenous population and make the entire field progressively self-governing, self-supporting and self-expanding. This is fully recognized by all the missionaries, and the acceptance of this forward-looking policy was one of the most characteristic decisions at the last General Mission Conference, a conference which convenes in Bluefields every two or three years, and also of the Provincial Board, which directs the affairs of the work during the inter-conference period and which represents the board in the homeland.

Significant steps towards the establishment of a native church have been taken already. There was a time when it was deemed impossible for young people to free themselves of "the futile way of living in which they were brought up," when young men and women dared not speak to each other face to face in public for fear that the breath of slander might touch them, when the first signs of an awakening were not only discouraged by older Christians but also strongly opposed by natives and foreigners, who found themselves restricted in their licentious liberty. But now young men and women meet together, discuss religious problems and take part in prayer with ease. Young people's conferences attract hundreds of young people, though for some attending them means days of traveling in small canoes and exposure to rain and heat. From among these young people have come native workers who, after three years training in the Bible School in Bilwaskarma, are sent out as pastors and who still meet at a convenient station for three or four weeks each year for further training.

Over thirty Indians serve as native lay pastors. Every Indian village in the country has a building where the people meet for worship. Often these buildings also serve as schools. The natives

are responsible for their upkeep. Wherever a congregation has been organized a board of elders and a church and school committee, consisting of men and women, direct the affairs of the congregation, under the supervision of the resident or visiting missionary.

The most recent statistics, those for the year 1948, show a total of 16,562 souls under the care of the Moravian Mission, including 5,072 accredited communicants, and an enrollment of 6,653 in Sunday Schools and 1,550 in day schools.

[Read at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, in Nazareth, on October 13, 1949. Bro. Danneberger was a former Superintendent of the Nicaragua Mission.]

A Missionary Venture on the St. Clair

Elma E. Gray, London, Ont.

In fancy, let me take you far away from your rolling farmlands, your majestic hills and rocky streams to a place of great contrast—a flat, desolate area of marshy thickets stretching for miles along the low shores of northern waters.

There, where myriad swamp grasses grow strong and tall, where oak and aspen trees are thin and pulpy, and the only sounds that break the stillness are the raucous cries of the wild fowl that drift frequently on the water, we find a young man working alone in a clearing, beside a river matted with islands resembling the mainland.

The man is finishing his winter quarters, working awkwardly from inexperience and slowly because of illness, though the winds blowing across the prairies of marshland are cold and piercing, and time is important. The door and small-paned windows of the hut overlook the river, which flows quietly just two feet below the banks. The man has anchored his roof of bark with ridges of sponge-ash logs; has carefully plastered the outside chinked grooves of his fourteen foot logs with wood-ashes, using a shaven hickory broom because he had no brush. The chimney is now catted with clay. Inside, the cabin walls are padded with fresh loam, which is gradually dried, by the heat of the fireplace.

Nearby he has rolled up with difficulty a log stable to house his one twelve dollar cow, and a chicken-house has been built, high and secure, against foxes, wild-cats, badgers, weasels and mink. Occasionally a rattle snake slips through the weeds after field mice, while squirrels, hawks and owls occupy the shelter of the wooded thickets back of the clearing.

On the rare days when the sun warms the marshland and the waters ripple with reflected light the man takes great interest in the animals and birds, waves and winds that encompass his small tract. He recognizes fourteen different types of swans,

ducks, wild-geese, knowing those that are palatable and those that cannot be relished because of their oily fish taste. He counts the small "haystacks" in the reeds by the bank where the muskrats house themselves. He knows the water-plants, the rushes, the flowers, the trees, calling them by their botanical names. Because of the constant dampness he has been unable to burn and clear up the wet weeds and grasses that surround him.

When thick fog rolls in, enveloping the land, hiding him from our view, the man remains indoors working by candlelight, at a hand-hewn table, translating Bible passages and hymns into the Chippewa language.

The time is November 1802. The place is Point aux Chenes, St. Clair "Flats," near the present Algonac, Michigan. The young man is Christian Frederick Dencke, the Moravian missionary.

No friendly window-beacons brighten the darkness for him. His candlelight shines for others; his hearth fire warms the traveler who pauses at sight of the welcoming glow. For Dencke is here on a mission, an assignment, to tell the story of the Gospel to the wandering Chippewas whose trails cross the land and whose canoes ply the channels by his door. The wretched condition of these untidy, crafty children of the forest, who live in all the lusts and cruelties of superstitious heathensim, is well known to Dencke and all the Moravian missionaries who labored with the pagan tribes of Ohio, Michigan and Canada.

Attempts to interest the Chippewas in Christian principles have so far been unsuccessful. Because they were primarily hunters and fishermen with no permanent abodes, their nomadic habits made them shiftless, and in seasons of want and famine they begged their daily food from more prosperous tribes, becoming known as a nation of beggars.

The Moravians in Bethlehem, intending to create more effective mission work among the Indians inhabiting Upper Canada, designated Christian Frederick Dencke to the mission post at Fairfield on the Thames River, to attempt to evangelize the Chippewa nation who were the most numerous tribe in that region.

In the Spring of 1800 Dencke, then twenty-five, left Nazareth Hall, where he had been a scholar and teacher, to travel to Goshen on the Muskingum for three months study of the Delaware and Chippewa languages, under the direction of David

Zeisberger. Anxious to proclaim to others what the Lord had done for him and to perform any task if thereby souls could be won for Christ, Dencke became the first Protestant missionary to visit the villages and field-places of the Chippewas, whose lands stretched north of the flourishing Moravian town of Fairfield in Upper Canada.

From Fairfield, one year ago, (1801), Dencke had gone north nine miles to the Jonquakamik River, (now the Sydenham), where he met a few Chippewas, saw their bark covered houses without doors, floors, beds or chairs, tasted their dried, unsalted meat, and been served a deer head cooked with corn, its organs intact. With dismay he found that their bowls, kettles and spoons were washed only by the tongues of their wolf-type dogs. He noticed the Indians catching fleas and lice, putting them in their mouths, biting them and only spitting them out when they had a mouthful. Horrified he heard them say they sometimes ate their prisoners of war.

The heaps of decayed fish bones and offal beside their houses, together with the sturgeon oil with which they anointed their bodies, created such an unpleasant odor that only the strongest of Europeans could stand it. But to gain the natives' confidence the missionary must eat their food, if the Indian is eating when he arrives,—and the Chippewas will eat all day if they can find any food. Dencke had, in time, learned to accept otherwise loathsome food such as the flesh of dogs, muskrats, hawks and owls.

He had been told of their great heathen festivals where dogs, their favorite animals, were butchered, cooked and eaten, and the pagans danced for hours around posts whose tops had carved, wooden faces, painted red and turned toward sundown. Red stripes, resembling snakes, covered the lower fifteen feet of the totems. Thus they made themselves acceptable to their god. In the cemeteries, close to the village, he saw several tribal chieftains' graves covered with bark supported by posts, the gabled ends of the grave made of split boards in which a hole had been cut to let the spirit in or out. Fires burned brightly before some of the graves.

"The Prince of Darkness," Dencke wrote, ruled among the Chippewas without restraint and "it is much to be desired," he continued, "that our Saviour might soon have mercy on them . . . . for their souls are precious in His sight."

Nangi, the head chief, after some months, guaranteed the missionary a piece of ground for a mission but failed to say where it was to be located. So, in the Spring of 1802, Dencke traveled to see Nangi, who was said to be camping on Point aux Chenes, where River St. Clair opens into Lake St. Clair. Not only did the Chippewa chieftain give Dencke permission to build his mission on the Point, ratifying the agreement by a double string of wampum, but went so far as to give orders that no liquor should be sold on mission lands.

Happy, and assured of help, Dencke felled the trees and planted garden seeds, only to be told that it had been decided among the Indians to move the mission to an island offshore, where 110 acres of tillable farm land lay beside a larger area of swamp. This was the northern section of Harsens Island (now known as Russell Island), and was divided in those years by a marsh, and in more recent years by a channel, making a complete separation between Harsens and Russell Islands. As Nangi sealed this bargain with four strings of wampum, given after an eloquent speech, Dencke dedicated this new location to the service of the Lord and made preparations to clear an area for a mission house.

Brother John Schnall, from Fairfield, arrived in August to see how the work progressed and shared Dencke's accommodation at the widow Harsen's crowded island home. While preparing beds on the floor a spark from a lamp fell into a keg of gunpowder and the resultant explosion and fire injured all the occupants of the house. Mrs. Harsen's son and married daughter died of their burns a few days later.

Schnall was so seriously burned that slight hope was held for his recovery. Dencke, though in pain from severe facial burns, had to comfort the injured, bury the dead and nurse his fellow missionary through a raging fever, employing all the remedies he knew and some the Indians suggested. With the help of Dr. William Brown of Detroit and Bro. Sebastian Oppelt and four Indians from Fairfield, they managed to get John Schnall back to the mission on the Thames where he eventually recovered.

In September Dencke returned to his little island when a Chippewa came to escort him across country via the Jonquakamik River route, but the Indian was ill with fever, which forced Dencke to carry the Indian's baggage as well as his own.

The country, normally swampy and filled with water, was now so dry that holes had to be dug to obtain drinking water. A few drops of "Spiritus Vitrioli," always carried by Dencke for such an emergency, made the reedy tasting water drinkable.

His forty-five mile trip was full of adventure and discomfort. The dry season had lowered the river so far that canoes could not travel safely through the many rapids. Forced to haul the bundles almost six miles farther than was anticipated the two arrived at the foot of the rapids to find only an old and leaky canoe which had to be calked with the chewed resinous bark of slippery elm before they could proceed. They were joined here by an Indian youth who was on his way to a pagan festival on Lake St. Clair. The three paddled silently and without stirring for several hours, only pausing when a bear with her two cubs was sighted on the shore at dusk. Leaving the canoe the Indians fired at the bears, missing them and frightening the cubs into the woods, while the angry mother, turning on the hunters, drove them back to the water's edge, where they took refuge in some overhanging trees. From there Dencke rescued them and the journey continued. Toward midnight, when he could sit still no longer, Dencke urged that camp be made, but there was to be no sleep that night for the missionary. The insects, and the antics of his two companions, filled the night with torment and a "raging howling," as the Indians, one a trained juggler, the other a novice in magic, contrived to communicate with the spirit world. The art of miracle-making, commented Dencke in his journal, had been in vain when the magicians had met the mother bear.

When deep, open water was reached the following morning and the wind seemed favorable, a sail was attached to the tottering canoe, filling Dencke with secret alarm, as twice the boat almost capsized, much to the Indians' amusement. "But for me it was not so funny," Dencke stated, "since I could not swim."

Arrived at Harsen's Island they found the white settlers and the Indians ill with fever, due, some said, to the presence of the white teacher. Nangi refuted their charges when he learned that the story had been started by the French, by reminding the Indians that the white people were more often sick than they were and the teacher was not with them. When Dencke learned that a prior right to the island property was claimed by white settlers he decided to winter on the original location on Point

aux Chenes where his vegetables had ripened and his lumber was piled.

Here we found him making his house secure against the subarctic blasts that would tear down old trees and get him out in the dead of a winter's night to climb to the roof to repair a hole, so that the entire covering of the hut would not be swept away by the wind.

Though many wayfarers passed his cabin on the busy water highway that carried all traffic to Detroit and Lake Erie, only a few lingered to hear the Gospel message. He was greatly encouraged when an old Indian woman paused long enough to tell him: "This is not only thy house, but it is also mine. I shall come to church. But it is too small for all the Indians who will come."

For days at a time, however, his only companion remained a little dog that warned him when wolves and foxes prowled in the night. The Chippewas who moored their canoes to the bank were more hungry for food than for the Word of God. Dencke's small crop of potatoes and tobacco did not last long. His corn had been a failure, and he did not bake his own bread. Mrs. Harsen baked his loaves for him in the ashes of her fire and sent them with her grandchildren, who came to him for lessons, while the weather was moderate. When storms prevented travel he went without bread, as did the disappointed Chippewas, who were notoriously fond of baker's loaves.

Supplies and flour he replenished at Captain Alexander Harrow's "horse-mill" up river, though Dencke complained that the flour was much more expensive, ($3 per cwt.), and was bad in comparison with that grown at Fairfield.

From the surrounding, teeming waters the settlers and Indians drew fish, soldiers from Detroit catching four thousand whiting in the river in one dip of the nets. Muskrats were eaten when other meat was scarce, though Dencke preferred those that were fat; one generous Indian hunter brought him a quarter of a stag that he had stalked all day before its capture.

Though the Chippewas were seemingly interested by Dencke's Bible stories and songs, as they smoked their after-dinner pipes with the missionary, they listened as eagerly to their own sorcerers and medicine men once they were out of his sight. They managed to acquire vast quantities of rum from the traders, in

spite of the Government and Nangi, so Dencke was forced to limit his hospitality to those who remained sober.

It was not until February, 1803, that this lonely missionary, who had given up many comforts to dwell with and serve his brown brothers, saw the first evidence of fruitful seed, when a strange Indian returned to the cabin to say that since he had heard the Great Words he had had little sleep during the night and wished to hear more. As the night was the Indians' most important time for thinking, Dencke knew that at last he had made an impression. David Zeisberger's wise words came back to him then —— "when the Indians begin to think about it, the Saviour has already gained ground."

Visitors arrived daily at this season, traders and settlers, Indians and French, and to each Dencke spoke of Christ's love and pardon. One Indian trapper from northern Saginaw was so interested to hear again of the Great Spirit who lives above, that he promised to return, but not before his annual trip the following year.

Captain Harrow came by sleigh, in February, to take Dencke as far as the Thames River for a short visit to Fairfield but found him severely ill with colic, soon cured by earnest prayer, a strong dose of rhubarb and a warm bed. So hungry for news and companionship was Dencke that he started out on foot for the Thames when the ice proved too soft for the sleigh. He had great difficulty in keeping his footing as his shoes slipped over the smooth river ice, so to shorten his trip he cut across country to the Dolson farm on the Thames, but missed it by about five miles and arrived, completely exhausted, in the night. The next day he continued by horseback to Fairfield, his total trip of over fifty miles accomplished in less than two days, in spite of his recent illness. "The joy for me, my white and brown brethren and sisters was great," he wrote simply of the reunion, but afted a three months absence his stay was brief, for three days later he started back to Point aux Chenes.

He bought skates at Dolson's trading store and, aching in every muscle, skated thirty pathless miles over the smooth stretches of the lake, reaching his cabin home in seven hours.

A few Indians came to call, among them Nangi, who said his people were becoming hostile towards him as they blamed him for the Government's action in prohibiting liquor sales to the Indians. Because of the decreased trade the price of corn brandy

had fallen to six shillings and six pence (roughly $1.50) a gallon, and the white residents, especially the French, taking advantage of the low prices, were consequently more often drunk than sober.

Now the weather became mild, the river opened in the centre, and the northern lakes began to empty their ice burdens along the river banks with terrific noise. Warned that once the channels became blocked and the flats inundated, travel would be impossible for months, Dencke decided to return to Fairfield while he could cross the frozen marshland. His valuables he carried to Mrs. Harsen for safekeeping.

Though he had hoped to go overland to revisit the Chippewa villages along the Jonquakamik he was told that liquor had recently been distributed among them, so he chose, rather, to take the longer water route which proved to be the most arduous and perilous trip he had so far undertaken. He made his way as fast as he was able over ice too slippery for shoes, too rough for skates, detouring round open water, zig-zagging first toward the land then to the lake. In places he walked knee-deep in water that covered the ice, in others the thin crust curved under his weight. Near the Thames the fog rolled over him and he went ahead, blindly trusting to luck, but fell over a rough spot and injured his right leg. So limping, sliding and stumbling, staying overnight at the Dolson farms, he finally reached Fairfield on the third day after a journey of over sixty miles.

Though he did not know it this was to be the last trip Bro. Dencke made to Point aux Chenes as the authorities at Bethlehem, in view of the Chippewa's disinterest and their growing hostility, decided to abandon the northern mission project in favor of one closer to Fairfield. So we leave Dencke, on the eve of his marriage in 1803 and the subsequent Chippewa Mission that he and his wife undertook during the following years.

Today if Christian Frederick Dencke were to walk across Walpole Island in Canada toward the United States border as he did one hundred and fifty years ago he would be pleased to see the many friendly Chippewas who live on the Canadian reserve. He might be led to think that Time had in some way stood still, for the log houses are set only in small remote clearings before tangled thickets. He would hear the bell in the church tower ringing out over the Big River, as the residents call the St. Clair. But on reaching the western shore he would see,

in place of the ancient canoes, the sleek pleasure craft, the fishing launches, the steady flow of shipping, the heavy smoke of vast freighters moving constantly north or south, making the St. Clair river one of the busiest highways in the world.

The low outline of Harsens Island and its tip, where his 110 acres lay, would be familiar to him, but not the flashing lights or the comfortable homes that now edge Russell Island. Beyond, across the horizon, where Point aux Chenes and Algonac sit hand in hand, he would find the low banks, still only two feet high, patterned with private docks where once the Indians moored their canoes. His cabin-site has given way to paved driveways curving between homes set on velvet lawns. But if he walked carefully past the houses to the very tip of the point, where few venture today, he would find something of the past, something that has not been changed in all the years, for here are the swamp grasses, the rushes, reeds and waterplants of the olden days, the real pioneers of this vast, northern estate.

* * *

[Read at the annual meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, in Nazareth, on October 12, 1950.]

NOTE BY THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The writer of the following account has requested that certain facts be noted by those who read his description of Moravian activity in Canada. These can best be stated in his own words:

> "The story of the beginnings of our work in Western Canada was written primarily for my children, Cyril and Mabel, who each own the four volumes of my original writings. The work was done mostly after my retirement during the years 1948, 1949, and 1950. In preparing this account ample use was made of my personal notes and diaries as well as other sources of authentic information. By the permission of my children some of these stories are herewith published by the Moravian Historical Society. The manuscript was prepared for the printer by the members of the Publication Committee. I greatly appreciate all the effort they devoted to this project and thank them sincerely for making such a faithful transcript and effective arrangement of the material furnished to them.
>
> —C.H."

Attention is also called to three corrections of data found on page 432. Brother and Sister William Scheel began their service in Canada in 1920. Brother and Sister Theodore Weingarth began their service in Canada in 1911, their first charge being Calgary. They also served Edmonton briefly before assuming the pastorate of New Sarepta. Brother James Weingarth did not officially serve the Church as an assistant pastor in Canada.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
October 4, 1951
The Publication Committee

Pioneering in Western Canada

or

Sowing and Reaping

in

A Moravian Home Mission Field

By Clement Hoyler, D.D., Ep.Fr.

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A Brief Introduction to the History of the Moravian Church in Western Canada

NOTE: This story of the Moravian Church in the Canadian West will be confined mostly to its antecedents in Russia, although some of the early settlers who identified themselves with this Church in Western Canada came from Germany, Brazil, the Western States or elsewhere. They were mostly German-speaking people. In compiling the following data use has been made of "Bruederfeld and Bruederheim" (Leibert), "History of the Moravian Church" (Hamilton), "Wolhynien" (Rink), "The Story of Calgary" (Suemper), "Letter" (Mueller).
—C. H.

The original emigration into Russia of German-speaking Moravian or Moravian-minded people apparently dates back to the latter half of the eighteenth century; that is, to about the time of Catherine II of Russia. She was an erstwhile German princess, but later became a powerful Russian empress who ruled over the land from 1762 to the year of her death, 1796. In her younger years, before she cast in her lot with the land of her adoption, she must have been acquainted with the Moravian Brethren.

Evidently she thought well of the "Bruedergemeine," as the Moravian Church is called in Germany, and considered that its members would make good colonists in Russia, contributing to the industrial and civilizing influence of her somewhat backward native populations. It was during her reign, too, that the Holy Synod of Russia "recognized the Unitas Fratrum as an ancient and legitimate Church, possessed of regulations and a discipline after the pattern of pristine Christianity."

In the year 1765 she allowed the Moravian Brethren to establish a colony at the confluence of the River Sarpa with the mighty Volga. The colony was called "Sarepta." Eight thousand acres of land on the west shore, and an additional one thousand acres on an adjoining island, were deeded to the Moravian Church. Sundry concessions were granted to the members, including freedom from military service and the taking of oaths, except that of fealty to the Russian crown.

The colony thrived for a number of years and various industries were established. In 1823 a disastrous fire swept through the town, demolishing thirty-seven buildings—dwellings, stores and factories. A worse calamity was visited on the place, when

new ecclesiastical restrictions were promulgated throughout the land. Little by little the concessions once granted to the Moravians were withdrawn, and in 1892 the Russian government practically confiscated the property of the Moravian Church. In that year the last Moravian minister was recalled from the colony, and Sarepta ceased to exist as a Moravian enterprise.

During the First World War some of the Germans from Russian Poland and Russia proper were banished to Sarepta and vicinity. One family, now married into the Moravian Church in Western Canada, eventually found their way into Alberta and are now a part of the Canadian District. By that time old Sarepta of Russian days had ceased to exist, and although the name was revived in the New World and one of the congregations in Alberta, founded in 1905, was called "New Sarepta," it must not be supposed that any of the former residents of Sarepta on the Volga helped to establish the Canadian District. During the Second World War Stalingrad (formerly called Tsaritsyn) was assailed by the Germans but did not fall. It was situated only about fifteen miles north of Sarepta, which is now generally called Krasnoparmisk. No doubt Sarepta or Krasnoparmisk was drawn to some extent into the conflict that raged around Stalingrad for months.

It will be seen from the foregoing that, originally, the emigration of Germans to Sarepta, Russia, did not directly affect the founding of the Canadian District. It is mentioned here only as a background to another movement of Germans into Russia, a migration of apparently Moravian-minded people from southern Germany to a part of the Volga basin many miles upstream from Sarepta. This second emigration supplied the first settlers who left the Volga and entered the United States and thence passed into Canada. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the tide flowed directly from the Volga basin to Western Canada without touching the United States.

These Germans had nothing to do directly with those that settled at Sarepta, and knew of them, if at all, only by vague hearsay. They came either from South Germany, for they speak a kind of Swabian dialect, or else they came from Saxony, for the native population, if they want to give them a nickname, call them Saxoni. They came mostly from Jagoda-Polanya, some from west of the Volga, others from east of the river.

That they were Moravian-minded, to say the least, is evidenced

by a number of facts to which the Rev. Emil Suemper, first Moravian minister at Calgary, draws attention. He says that many of the familiar family names, heard among Moravians in Germany, live on in Canada. He especially points out that the hymnal in use among them on the Volga was very largely made up of hymns with the subscription "Aus dem Gesangbuch der Bruedergemeine." He reminds us that the litany of the Moravians is printed in its entirety in their hymnal. He claims that they sing the tunes largely after the Moravian, rather than the Lutheran manner. Brother Suemper even thinks that the minister of the chief church in Jagoda-Polanya may have been a Moravian, but there is no corroboration of that fact from Herrnhut.

We now have a number of congregations in southern Alberta among the people who came from the Volga, but were not in connection with Herrnhut like those of Sarepta had been.

Directly associated with Herrnhut was an effort to do something for the people about a day's journey below Sarepta, who had located on the steppes about the year 1879, coming from Saratov and settling on the estate of the widow of a Russian general. She heard about the Moravians at Sarepta and invited them to her estate. The Herrnhut authorities commissioned the Rev. Bernhard Fliegel, then minister at Sarepta, to visit this place. He ultimately founded a colony there and organized a congregation of ninety communicants, calling it Gnadenthal. But it could not receive government recognition, and the enterprise was abandoned even before Sarepta was given up. This enterprise had no bearing on the Canadian District either, and is mentioned here only for completeness' sake.

We now come to an undertaking which was a direct forerunner of the work in the Canadian West. It will be mentioned here at some length. Originally and specifically it started in the dim past in Polish Russia. It eventually spread to the neighboring government of Volhynia in Russia proper, in what is now part of Ukraina. The Moravian part of the work came under the auspices of the Herrnhut *diaspora.*

According to the Rev. M. W. Leibert the stream of German emigration from the Fatherland began to flow into Russian Poland before the year 1800. In 1815, and after, many of these people, through the faithful work of Moravian *diaspora* representatives, made deep religious experiences, which resulted in a revival that spread into adjacent parts of Volhynia. This word, Volhynia,

by the way, indicates the fertility of the soil and the prosperity of its people. In this case the name was prophetic of the Gospel falling on fruitful ground.

At the time of which we write the land was largely wooded, and was worked to only a small extent by the Russian serfs. After the abolition of the feudal system in 1863 the vast estates of the large land holders in Russia remained without tenants. It was then that the immigration of German farmers was doubly encouraged.

At first the land was to be leased to them for twelve years, but promises were given to them that at the end of the twelve years they would get title to their land. Many villages sprang up in the forests, the land was cleared and many parts were almost exclusively German.

The government did not keep its word to the German settlers. After the expiration of the twelve-year lease, no titles were forthcoming, but the government kept right on giving promises, until it became plain that adherence to the Greek Orthodox Church was one of the conditions to be met ere settlers could secure any deeds.

Meanwhile several *diaspora* centers had been established in Poland, notably in Lodz, Lwow (Leonberg) and Fabianica. Some of the Polish workers occasionally visited in Volhynia, men like the Brethren Lange, Hessemer and Steinberg. Two Moravian congregations were organized in Volhynia in 1894, Kremenka and Schadura.

Schadura was a German colony, situated about thirty-five miles from Shitomir, the capital of Volhynia. The latter had a population in 1894 of about sixty thousand, many of them of the Jewish faith. The rest of them belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church or were Roman Catholic and Evangelicals. Many of the German people did business in Shitomir, though there was a Jewish town, called Goroschek, only about six miles from Schadura.

Schadura was located on an old Russian estate, which was being broken up. Much of the land was in possession of a certain Josef Mahr, who does not appear to have had a clear title to his holdings and, therefore, was not able to give title to those that bought land from him. He spent much of his time in Shitomir, evidently trying to straighten out this difficulty.

Among the settlers of Schadura were about a dozen families from northern Bohemia. They were mostly Roman Catholic by faith, and were not farmers but industrialists. As their own

church was pretty far away, they attended the Moravian services. Under the blessing of God some of them were converted, but they were not permitted to join the Brethren's Church at Schadura. Many of the other settlers were farmers, but some of them were quite poor.

There were other German colonies in that part of Volhynia, in some of which it became customary to hold mission festivals in support of Moravian missions and to celebrate the Married People's Festival (Ehechorfest), the latter usually with a Moravian Love Feast. Centers of Moravian-minded people were created in many parts of Volhynia. One of these colonies was Federoffka, not far from Schadura. Some of these people had formerly lived in Poland and had there come under the influence of the Moravian *diaspora.* Brother Steinberg occasionally came to Federoffka and other places and visited the awakened persons in these colonies. Eventually the Rev. Wilhelm Lange was stationed in that part of Volhynia and endeavored to put the work of the Brethren on a more permanent basis. Brother Lange was a fine type of man, with a very good education. At Schadura he conducted regular services on Sunday and held prayer meetings and song services there and elsewhere on week nights.

In the long run, neither Kremenka nor Schadura could get official recognition, as the Lutheran pastors, who were recognized by the State but had as many as forty thousand souls and more under their care, opposed such a step. When it became evident that the Moravians could not establish independent churches in Russia, their leaders began to cast around in other lands, where there were no government or ecclesiastical restrictions. Those in Schadura were attracted to South America. Under their minister, Brother Lange, they settled in Brazil and founded a colony, which they called "Bruederthal," in the state of Santa Catharina. The climate, though considerably warmer than that of Volhynia, was fairly pleasant, but coffee culture on the mountains was a new and somewhat doubtful venture for the Volhynians. After a few years their settlement broke up, their minister entered the service of the Lutheran Church, and several substantial families joined their brethren in Alberta and helped to form the Canadian District.

Quite independent of the migration from Russia to Brazil was the movement from the land of the czars to the Dominion of Canada, unless it was to convince the leaders of the latter that a

migration of German colonists from Russia to Brazil was not the best solution for the experiences made in Russia. This new movement from Volhynia to Alberta set in in the spring of 1894. It was under the leadership of Andreas Lilge, who had been in the United States once before, namely in the early eighties of the nineteenth century. It was really in the late summer of 1893 that the family of Andreas Lilge and two other families left Volhynia with the view of ultimately making their home in Canada. They arrived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, just when the Provincial Synod of 1893 was convened there, and were given temporary asylum in Bethany, Minnesota. From here their leader carried on negotiations with the Canadian Land Department at Ottawa, with the result of a block of land being reserved for him and his people some eighteen miles to the northeast from Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta.

The Moravians from Russia, seeking religious liberty in a land where there is no State Church, where the government granted full liberty of conscience to all creeds, and where Moravians could freely found churches of their own, came to Canada in several parties in the spring and summer of 1894. They numbered over 225 souls, including the three families that had temporarily lived in Minnesota. They all came from Volhynia, but some of them had been born in Russian Poland. Eventually some came from Poland direct. They all had had some connection with the Moravian *diaspora* in the old country.

Coming to Alberta, the party divided. They did not all like the land reserved for them to the eastward of Fort Saskatchewan. Some preferred to buy their land from the Indian Department of Ottawa and moved on to farms on Papaschase Reserve near Edmonton, which had been opened for settlers a short time before and had railway facilities since 1893. The rest took up free homesteads east and northeast of Fort Saskatchewan, which did not get its first railway until about eleven years later, namely in 1905. These called their settlement Bruederheim and were organized by authority of Provincial Elders' Conference as the first Moravian congregation in Western Canada on May 6, 1895. Those near Edmonton called their community Bruederfeld and were organized as a congregation on June 27, 1895. Both organizations were effected by Andreas Lilge.

Early that year Lilge wrote to the Rev. K. A. Mueller, then minister at Mamre, Wisconsin, about the hopes and aspirations of the Moravians in Alberta. The latter forwarded the letter to

Bethlehem. The upshot of the matter was that Provincial Elders' Conference sent one of their number, the Rev. M. W. Leibert, to Alberta late in 1895 to investigate the possibilities in Alberta.

When once formally launched by official action of the Provincial Elders' Conference the task of promoting and prosecuting the enterprise devolved upon the home missionaries who were appointed to the new field. The first was called in December, 1895, in the person of the Rev. Clement Hoyler, at that time serving his first charge in Elizabeth, N. J. Andreas Lilge was appointed "pastor's assistant" and was received as an acolyte, being licensed to preach. In the spring or early summer of 1896 the Rev. Wm. N. Schwarze, a recent graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary, was called as "assistant pastor." He took up his work in August, 1896, and lived in the parsonage at Bruederfeld for about two years.

Subsequently the various home missionaries who were called into the field, including such Brethren as W. C. Schattschneider, E. Suemper, G. Henkelmann, C. A. Albrecht, A. Schultz and a long line of others down to the present time, made each his contribution to the promotion of the cause in accordance with God's plan and program for the Christian Church; some planted, others watered, but God alone gave the increase. 1 Corinthians 3:6

It is not the intention of the writer of these reminiscences to compose a history of Moravian Home Missions in Western Canada, or even to give a comprehensive account of the work in the individual congregations during pioneer days, but rather to record his personal experiences in the early years. Most of the things herein related are found nowhere else and would be lost forever except for the record herewith composed.

The material was gathered from many sources, including the verbal accounts of some of the early pioneers, whose stories, unless preserved in written form, might be forgotten by later generations. In addition to them, the sketches contained in this work portray largely my own experiences and recollections during the early years of my service in Western Canada, which covered altogether about thirty years. I have drawn largely upon my private diary and to some extent upon the records of the congregations whose books I kept in compliance with synodical regulations. To a lesser degree I have used stories and incidents related to me by my colleagues in the Canadian ministry. To them I express my gratitude at this time.

I also want to record here my gratitude to God for leading me into the Canadian West early in my ministry and permitting me to grow up with that country in the formative period of its history. I also gratefully record God's goodness in preserving me from many dangers and for granting me an almost perfect record of health throughout my ministry in Canada and afterward.

Northfield, Minnesota — CLEMENT HOYLER
Summer of 1949

CHAPTER I.

Severing Old Home Ties

Our first Canadian Moravians arrived in Alberta in the spring of 1894. Practically all of them came from Volhynia, though some had been born in Poland. Three families had come over from the old country the year before, but had temporarily located in Bethany, Winona County, Minnesota, prior to their finally settling in Canada. By the time Bruederheim and Bruederfeld were organized, their numbers reached a total of 228 souls. Some of the later arrivals came directly from Poland, and a few even from Brazil, whither they had first emigrated from Volhynia under the leadership of the Rev. Wm. Lange in 1885. Their colony, located near Joinville, in the Province of Santa Catharina, was called Bruederthal. It was not a success.

About the turn of the century an entirely different stream of immigration set in from the Volga River in Russia. These people also had come under Moravian influence a century or more ago, as evidenced by the hymnal in use among them. Many of the hymns bore the acknowledgment "Aus dem Gesangbuch der Bruedergemeinde," and even the Moravian Church Litany was embodied in it.

After a while immigrants arrived from Germany, from Holland, from the Western States and new contingents from Poland and Volhynia.

The question naturally arises: "Why did all these folk leave their several homelands, especially those from Russia?" Russia, from all accounts, had good productive soil, an agreeable climate, a brisk trade and fair prospects for material advancement. Why, then, did the people want to leave Russia and undertake a long and tedious journey by land and sea almost one-third of the way around the globe?

Several factors entered into the question. For one thing, the political and religious conditions in Russia were far from satisfactory. Our people really did not enjoy religious liberty. They were not always permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. This was especially true of Volhynia. They could not organize full-fledged Moravian congregations. Moravian ministers were not allowed to perform marriages or dispense the sacraments.

Politically and economically our people were discriminated against. They could not hold office in the State. As a rule, they were not even allowed to hold title to their land unless they embraced the Greek Orthodox faith, which of course they would not do. Even the young men who had served in the Russian army could not acquire farms in their own right. At best, they could become tenants. So they longed to get to a land where they would be free from czarist tyranny. Such a land of liberty they found in Canada under the British flag.

In the case of the Moravian settlers who came from the Western States, the motive was largely their desire to provide more land for their children. They needed more room. They could sell their land in the United States at a high figure and with the proceeds acquire vastly more acreage of choice Canadian farmland for a mere trifle.

A vital factor in promoting immigration into Canada was the attractive colonization literature distributed by the Canadian Government throughout the Old World and the New. Prospects in the Canadian West were set forth most attractively and induced thousands of people to make the venture by transferring their abode to the land that was extending such a cordial welcome to the downtrodden and handicapped.

It was not easy to pull up stakes and to sever old ties. The move, in the case of our Volhynians, involved serious monetary and material losses. They could sell only their movable inventory. The land did not belong to them. They could dispose only of the horses and stock, farm implements and household effects, and such personal belongings as they could not carry with them. Naturally, they did not receive full value for their possessions. To make matters worse, if they had cash money, they found that the Russian ruble was worth only a little more than half the Canadian dollar, though in Russia the ruble had practically the same purchasing power as the Canadian dollar. In consequence

of this, most of the people had very little cash in their pockets when they arrived in Alberta. The Canadian Government used to pay a bonus of ten dollars per head for every immigrant that came into the country, but by the time the Volhynian immigration got under way this practice had been discontinued. Some of our people were truly impoverished when they arrived. Some even had to borrow money from friends in order to pay passage for themselves and their large families.

Nor did the Russian Government like to see any of its subjects leave their country and transfer their allegiance to another land. Russia was anxious to colonize her own vast fertile areas in certain parts of Siberia and elsewhere. Consequently her officials made it as difficult as possible for those intending to emigrate. They made it hard for them to obtain their passports. They exacted bribes wherever it could be done safely. They kept the people waiting and subjected them to personal inconveniences.

Perhaps the hardest thing to face was the separation, perhaps for life, of friends and loved ones. In many cases, married children, brothers and sisters, were left behind never to be met again on earth. As it turned out, many of those who remained behind were later subjected to the most terrible hardships, when the world war broke out in 1914 and the German colonists were caught between the two contending armies. Families were torn apart, some members being removed to one part of the interior of Russia, while others were sent to other places. Some were banished to Siberia; others were transported to the Volga. The aftermath of the war brought still greater sufferings under the Soviet regime. Years later a few folk found their way from the Volga region to Bruederfeld, but on the whole emigration from Volhynia and Poland received a setback as a result of the war that broke out in 1914.

CHAPTER II.

National and Ancestral Background

Under this caption we will list the various elements that constituted the membership of the Canadian District, at least those of them whose mother-tongue was German. Interesting dialects were spoken by them, giving a clue to the portion of the German fatherland from which their ancestors originally must have sprung.

1. Most of the original "Volhynians" who settled in Bruederheim and Bruederfeld were born in Russia proper, in what came to be known as the Ukraine. Some of the older ones, however, had been born in Russian Poland, where German colonization appears to have started. After a generation or more some of the German colonists in Poland moved again, into Volhynia; a few later migrated again into Roumania. Most of these people spoke a Low German dialect or dialects. Their ancestors evidently came from North Germany, the hearth of various "Plattdeutsch" dialects. The emigration from North Germany to Poland must have antedated 1862 when the Russian feudal system was abolished. It was the liberation of the serfs in the said year, however, that encouraged the influx of German settlers into the land of the czars, for after the serfs were liberated they no longer cared to work for the landlords even under more favorable conditions. The landlords, therefore, induced German colonists to come into the country and offered them an opportunity to occupy their estates as tenants.

That the Moravian *diaspora* people who came to Canada from Poland and Volhynia had descended originally from North Germany is evidenced not only by their "Plattdeutsch" speech, but also from the fact that their language contained certain Scandinavian elements. The Scandinavian countries lie nearest to North Germany and would, therefore, be most likely to influence the people of North Germany.

2. Quite distinct from the Low German or "Plattdeutsch" was the Swabian dialect used by a few of the families that came from Volhynia. Swabian is spoken in Wuerttemberg in South Germany. In Alberta the following families or individuals in Bruederfeld used the Swabian dialect more or less pronouncedly: Andreas Stolz, Nicolaus Paul and his two sons, Christian and August, and several married daughters of Nicolaus, also the three Seutter brothers, Jacob, Erdman and Christian, and to a lesser degree one or two others. The choicest and richest Swabian was spoken by Andreas Stolz.

3. The people who came from the German colonies along the Volga and united with our Church in Canada because of certain Moravian influences going back many years spoke a German dialect all their own and betrayed still another geographical origin. Their language had certain affinities to the Swabian form of speech, but in many respects it differed from the true Wuerttem-

berg dialect. Bishop Hamilton in his *History of the Renewed Moravian Church* (pp. 512, 513) refers both to Volhynia and the Volga region as fields of *diaspora* work and incidentally speaks of the Volga Swabian-German colonists. The Rev. E. Suemper, who served among the Calgary people from the Saratov region, came to the conclusion that the Volga Moravian-minded Germans came originally from Saxony. He found a number of old Herrnhut family names among his members. One of the Calgary sisters once thought she detected a trace of Swabian dialect in my speech, when she said to me: "Du sprichst grad so wie mir."

4. In Saskatchewan I worked among German-speaking people who came from various parts of North America. At Dundurn and Pleasant Point the Moravians spoke "Amerikanisch-Deutsch," with the typical admixture of English words and phrases. Near Haultain I occasionally conducted services among some Ontario people, who spoke a rich Pennsylvania-Dutch, as genuine as that in Allentown. My work among the early settlers of Western Canada was not confined to Germans from various parts of the Old and New World, but also embraced Norwegians and English-speaking people of many kinds. Just to show how inclusive our labors were so far as the racial and national background was concerned, I might mention how in Dundurn a little neighboring boy, whose father was a dyed-in-the-wool Englishman and belonged to the Anglican Church, once said to me over the back fence near his home: "Your church is no good." "Well, why not?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "all kinds of Germans, Swedes and Scotchmen go to it." No finer compliment could have been paid to us or to any church. Even in heaven there will be all kinds of Germans, Swedes, Scotchmen and many of other tribes and kindreds.

CHAPTER III.

Setting Out for New Homes

Most of our people who came from Volhynia and Poland traveled by way of Libau, Hull, Liverpool, Halifax, Winnipeg and Calgary. Their destination was Edmonton or, rather, South Edmonton, then the northernmost station on the Calgary and Edmonton branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. This line was completed only in 1893 and ran only one or two freight trains per week at that time, with a single passenger coach attached.

The journey to Libau, a seaport on the Baltic in the Province of Lithuania, had partly to be negotiated by wagon. For most of them the nearest railroad station was about 125 miles away. The trip meant many hardships, especially in bad weather and when the roads were poor. One family, that of Heinrich Schultz, later of Bruederheim, had to drive for three days and nights until they reached their railroad station. They made the trip mostly in a drenching rain, which soaked them through and through, so that even their paper money was saturated. Some had to walk, often wading through water that came over their boot-tops. In Libau they had to remain thirteen days, waiting for their boat to start. After paying for their tickets they had $2.00 left—two dollars and eight children Then some one came along in still greater need and they gave away their $2.00, too.

Several of our young men, who were draftees and wished to escape from Russian military service, naturally could not get out of the country by way of Libau. They had to head for the Russo-German border and try to cross the boundary into the German Fatherland surreptitiously. We cannot blame them for wanting to get away from military service under the czarist regime. It represented a hard life, with many privations. Moreover, some of the people were imbued with pacifist views, as the members of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum had been, and the Moravian colonists at Sarepta on the Volga. When this colony was established in 1765 under the patronage of Empress Catharine—originally a German princess, who had favorably known the Herrnhuters in Germany —various concessions were granted to the Moravian settlers, one of which was exemption from military service.

Christian Seutter described to me the manner in which the recruits were drafted. He had to go to a neighboring town to be registered. All who received numbers above one thousand—their names being drawn by lot—were allowed to go home. Seutter drew number 303. That meant that he would have to serve in the army. He made up his mind that he was not going to do that. Even the draftees were allowed to return to their homes for another month, in order to settle their affairs and to bid farewell to their relatives and friends. This interval was used by Seutter and others to make good their escape. But before going home, they were all sworn into the army. Like a herd of sheep they were driven into a Greek Catholic Church. The adherents of this Church had to kiss certain ikons. Protestants were really required to do this, too, but usually managed to evade the ceremony. Then a priest took a

vessel with holy water and a brush, which he dipped into the water. He flipped his brush over the heads of the men, sprinkling them with little quantities of water. This was the ceremony of dedication to military service. The priest then read instructions to the recruits, telling them that they must serve the czar faithfully. This was practically their swearing in.

Three weeks after Seutter's induction into the army he left secretly and alone. In various ways, by diligence, on foot, by rail, he got to Warsaw. In this city he could get no night's lodging because he lacked the proper certificates to be admitted to hotels. Seutter looked around and finally found a place under a bridge, where he lay down on the damp ground to sleep.

By morning it had snowed heavily and snow had drifted in upon him under the bridge. Proceeding from Warsaw in a westerly direction he finally came to the German border.

His school teacher back home, one Missal, had given him a letter of introduction to one of the boundary police, who was personally known to Missal. In this letter Missal asked his friend, the sentinel, to render young Seutter a little assistance in getting across the border. So Seutter now looked up this sentinel and presented the letter.

The sentinel made a serious face and said he was afraid he could not do anything. In fact he advised Seutter to go back to his home and surrender himself to the authorities. But this he would not do, saying he must continue on his way to America. Still the gendarme declined to assist him in his flight. He said it would cost him his living and would even mean deportation to Siberia, if it were discovered that he had helped a recruit to escape. However, he finally relented somewhat and said to Seutter: "I'll tell you what you can do. You see, I dare not have a hand in this business, but you go home to my wife, and she'll fix you up all right."

So Seutter went to her and she took him over to a Polish neighbor, and together they arranged for the necessary steps. They made an attempt to cross that same night, but the attempt failed. The sentinels were quite numerous and watchful, patrolling the boundary very carefully. The ditch that separated Russia from Germany at this point was wide—fully ten feet.

The next evening they tried again, just as the sentinels were being changed. Seutter got across safely and unobserved, under cover of a dark and foggy night. He now got work with a Ger-

man count in the Province of Posen. This count had a clerk or private secretary, with whom Seutter got acquainted and who agreed to issue a laborer's certificate to him on his own hook for a five-mark fee. With the help of this certificate Seutter was able to secure passage from Bremen to New York. Those were the days, of course, when there were no quotas and no other severe restrictions to entrance into the United States.

Another of the young men who escaped to Canada was *William Fenske.* He also wanted to get away from the draft. He had resorted to the subterfuge of dieting himself so as to reduce his waist and chest measure. And sure enough, the first time he appeared at the recruiting station for the examination, he was rejected because of his insufficient weight and measurement. But realizing that he was subject to a second call later on and fearing that he might be accepted in the end, he decided to escape.

Three others joined Fenske—*Ferdinand Schmidt,* a certain Fiebig and a certain Krueger. They traveled to a Polish-Russian border village, close to the German line. As they reconnoitered the lay of the land a Pole observed them and rightly guessed that the four strangers were runaway soldiers. He accosted them and offered to assist them in their flight. This frightened them. Their fears were not allayed when he suggested to them to hide in his large stable, promising to take them across the border on the morrow. Ill at ease, because they had heard of Germans being murdered secretly for the sake of the money they might possess, they nevertheless obeyed instructions and hid in the man's barn. That evening a lot of the friends and neighbors of the Polish villager gathered at the stable and began an animated conversation. The four fugitives could not understand the language, but feared the worst. They expected a conspiracy against them and imagined that the band was planning to assassinate them all. At length, however, the company dispersed and the four Germans began to breathe more easily. Eventually they realized that they had not been betrayed and that their Polish friend proved to be true.

In the morning preparations were begun for their flight across the boundary. The Pole collected a fee of two rubles from each, and gave to each some old garments to help in the disguise. To one he gave an old hat, to another an old coat, etc. He also gave them instructions as to how to proceed. He was going to

drive his cattle out to the pasture, which just adjoined the border. They were to saunter along in an unconcerned fashion, but not all close together. They soon came to the place where the sentinels were on guard. They could see three of them simultaneously, so close were they together. Two of the young men, Schmidt and Krueger, now got excited and started to run across the creek that constituted the boundary at that place.

It almost proved their undoing. The sentinel saw them and, assisted by a bend in the creek which gave him a slight advantage, he would surely have caught them had not their nervous fear given them wings and almost superhuman strength. The other two, not being prepared for a spurt at the moment, now saw the futility of any further attempt for the present and continued to walk unconcernedly behind the cattle. This course met with the approval of their Polish friend, who advised them to return to his house for dinner. In the afternoon, he assured them, the attempt might be renewed, as the sentinels would then be changed.

Slightly different tactics were employed. Some little children were to join them and then all were to proceed to the place where they wanted to cross into Germany. The children ran nonchalantly across the boundary in full view of a sentinel who was reclining against a tree. They played about, picked flowers and came back. They repeated this process several times. The men then also sauntered over, ostensibly to join the children, and also came back. The second time they went further afield, but returned once more. The third time they entered Germany still farther—and never came back any more! The stupid Russian sentinel now saw through the ruse, but it was too late.

We will record the story of one more of these "deserters," who loved liberty and sought a land of freedom. We are speaking of *Gustav Bartz.* He had already been in the army for a period of nine months at a point in Poland. He describes life in camp as an almost unendurable existence. Only two meals a day were served, and these consisted chiefly of a kind of soup, so sour as to set one's teeth on edge.

Bartz had gotten permission one day to take his soiled laundry to the nearby town. In the bag he also put his old civilian clothes that he had taken along from home. At a secluded spot he took off his Russian uniform and threw it into the dense underbrush. Putting on his old clothes, he boarded a train, using some of his

scant supply of money. It was all a very risky business, for detection would have meant deportation to Siberia. One other companion was with him.

They rode for eight hours. Their money was almost exhausted. So they took to walking. For eight days they walked almost day and night, in constant fear of being suspected. They avoided villages and dwellings as much as possible. Only when forced by hunger, they ventured to secure a fresh supply of bread, which was about all they got to eat. It was already late in the season and getting cold. Their clothing was scant. To get a drink, they had to crack open the ponds and brooks with a stone. Occasionally they got some snatches of sleep in straw piles. Both of them ruined their health at that time.

After eight days the pair reached the boundary, almost crazed with hunger, cold and lack of sleep. They realized their danger now that they stood at the border, where sentinels were stationed only 2500 feet apart, going back and forth with loaded muskets and with orders to shoot down any who were seen crossing the line without authority.

It was night when the two men got to the border. Here they came upon a house in which there was a light. They crept up to the window and listened. To their joy they heard the occupants speak German. So they ventured to knock for admission. Providentially, the German proved to be friendly and furthered their project, though at risk to himself for harboring deserters, who had broken their oath to the Emperor. The German assigned an empty storeroom or granary to them, where he let them sleep on the hard floor for the night. So soundly did they sleep in the security of this place, that they did not awake of themselves. At four o'clock in the morning the man called them, showed them in the dim light in which direction they were to run, told them that only a few rods farther on there was a deep ditch which marked the boundary between the two countries and that they would have to jump across that ditch. For all this advice and kind assistance Bartz took off his good pair of boots and gave them to the German, taking the latter's pair of inferior shoes in exchange. The German now listened for the footfalls of the Russian sentinel on the hard frozen ground. Soon they became audible and slowly with measured tread passed the place, then died away in the distance.

Now the German advised his protegees to make good their

escape before the sentinel got back. So they hurried forth into the dark night and soon noticed that they were at the ditch. Bartz essayed to make the first leap across, but made a miscalculation in the semi-darkness of the night. He landed on the ice, broke through and found himself waist-deep in the water. Though easily rescued from this unfortunate plight, he soon felt his clothing freeze solid upon his body. His companion was more fortunate, and the two hastened on into German territory, stopping long enough at a house at a safe distance to dry their freezing clothes. But they were not allowed to remain long, as the owner of the house told them that the police were always looking for runaways. Without getting any breakfast, they were forced to move farther on.

After walking for some time, they came to some more kindly disposed people. They remained two days and helped their kind host thresh with a flail. But again they were urged to continue their flight, as they were not yet safe. The man directed them to a friend of his twenty-five miles farther on, giving them a letter of recommendation. This man took them in and engaged them both for a year, promising them each the equivalent of $35.00 wages for the period. Altogether they remained for a year and a half. The man secured some papers for them, on the strength of which they were able to emigrate from Germany. Bartz had some relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Wilhelm Lilge, who meanwhile had arrived in Canada with the first contingent of settlers; they urged him to follow as soon as possible. His companion decided to remain in Germany.

At this point we might hear how one of the families fared who traveled in that same first contingent to which the Wilhelm Lilges belonged. The name of this family was Lippert. *Leopold Lippert,* the head of the family, wrote a detailed story of his experiences, the German original of which is preserved with other documents belonging to my collection of Alberta records.

Lippert tells us in his account that he and his family set out from their Volhynian home on the 10th of May, 1894, together with thirteen other families. Andreas Lilge, who with two other families had already come across by way of Bethlehem, Pa., in the late summer of 1893, and had spent a winter in Bethany, Minnesota, had secured special rates for the entire party from the Canadian Government and had even obtained free transportation for the penniless.

Lippert appears to have been the best versed in the Russian language, so he assisted the rest in securing their passports and in making all preparations for the long trip. He had to bear a heavy load on this account, looking after all his charges. Moreover, he had to care for his sick wife, who was almost blind, and for their six children, the oldest of which was only twelve. In his pocket he had twenty rubles, or about $10.00. After a wagon and train trip of five days, the party arrived in the port city of Libau. Here they had to remain for five days, awaiting the ship's departure for Hull, England. By the time the company left Libau, Lippert's twenty rubles were pretty well exhausted. We will continue the Lippert story in the next chapter, telling about their experiences on shipboard.

In this chapter, which bears the title "Setting out for Canada," it would seem fitting to include several paragraphs about my own first trip to Alberta to join the European immigrants at Bruederheim and Bruederfeld as their first minister or missionary. To be sure, my journey was not, like theirs, fraught with any hardships or trials at any stage, either when setting out or en route. I received the official call on December 28, 1895, while pastor at Elizabeth, New Jersey. On January 2, 1896, at the request of the Provincial Elders' Conference, I went to Bethlehem to have an official interview with the board with regard to this call. On Saturday, January 4, the joint board of the Elizabeth congregation met at the parsonage, and I informed them of the call and my acceptance of the same. The next day, at the morning service, I made the announcement to the entire congregation. In the evening we began our Week of Prayer services, with meetings every night till Friday. All that week my mother and I did our packing, assisted by one of the members. On Saturday, January 11, our freight was shipped to Edmonton, and the following day, January 12, 1896, I preached my farewell sermon on Isaiah 27:5 before an audience of one hundred. In the evening Holy Communion was celebrated, ninety-six taking part and some twenty to thirty others being present. It was an uplifting service, followed by cordial farewells and good wishes.

On Monday afternoon, January 13, my mother and I left by train. On Sunday, January 19, I preached for my brother-in-law, the Rev. W. Strohmeier, in Lake Mills. There my mother expected to remain until the parsonage in Bruederfeld would be

built, when she was to join me in the month of June following.

On Saturday morning, January 25, I arrived in Winnipeg, and as soon as possible I went to call upon Mr. L. A. Hamilton, the C. P. R. Land Commissioner, who had his office in the second story of the large depot. Unfortunately he was out of town and I missed seeing him altogether. I put up at the Brunswick Hotel and then went out to look up some of the other persons, whom P. E. C. had asked me to contact, including Mr. T. E. Morden, city editor of the Manitoba Free Press, and others later on. That same day I learned to know a gentleman who proved to be a valuable helper and friend for many years—Mr. John E. Forslund, C. P. R. Immigration Agent. He was a Swede, but talked good English and German and knew all about our Volhynian immigrants and their leader, Andreas Lilge. In fact he had a letter from Lilge for me. Mr. Forslund gave me a free pass to Edmonton and to Cypress River, Manitoba, and later on also supplied similar transportation for other trips. (After my consecration to the episcopacy in 1908 I received annual passes on all three railways, the C. P. R., and the C. N. R. and the G. T. P.)

At the Brunswick Hotel I made the acquaintance of a certain Ex-Sergeant-major G. H. Schoof, a native of Schleswig Holstein, an American citizen, who had served under the British in South Africa for some time as mounted police, patrolling the highway between the diamond fields and the Zambesi River. He was personally acquainted with Dr. Jameson, organizer of the unfortunate Jameson Raid on Transvaal in 1895. He was also acquainted with old King Lobengula and King Khama, ruler of Bechuanaland and faithful ally of the British. Once Schoof acted as escort to Robert Moffat, Jr., son of the famous missionary of that name. We spent many an interesting hour together. I also heard his lecture on South Africa and the customs, life, language and beliefs of the people. He had a valuable collection of South African curios with him in Winnipeg.

On Sunday, January 26, I attended the Methodist Church in Winnipeg, of which the Rev. G. R. Turk was pastor. I met him afterwards, as had been suggested to me by P. E. C., because he had interested himself in our Moravians. Mr. Morden, who also took a deep interest in our people in Alberta, belonged to Mr. Turk's church. On Sunday afternoon Mr. Morden took me to All People's Mission, a work which he conducted with the

help of Mr. and Mrs. Hughes and others on behalf of the many different nationalities living in Winnipeg or passing through that gateway on their way to the New West. I delivered a brief address in German at the meeting.

I met Mr. Griffin, Assistant Land Commissioner of the C. P. R., called on Mr. H. H. Smith, Dominion Land Commissioner; Mr. Wendelbow, a Scandinavian, and Hugo Carstens, a German official; contacted Mr. McCloud, Dominion P. O. Inspector, regarding the establishment of a P. O. at Bruederfeld; called on Dr. Blakely, Superintendent of Education for Manitoba, who referred me to his colleague, Mr. Goggin at Regina, who held a similar post for the Northwest Territories.

My stay at Winnipeg ended on Thursday, January 30, and at 5:10 P.M. that day I boarded the C. P. R. sleeper on the transcontinental train from Montreal to Vancouver, traversing the vast and bleak and sparsely settled plains of Manitoba, Assiniboia and Alberta. Very few houses were seen on the plains; the railway stations were surrounded by straggling villages of a few houses and a store or two, except when we came to an occasional town of some importance. Some wildlife was observed now and then, mainly coyotes; the pronghorn antelope was supposed to occur here, but I was not fortunate enough to catch a sight of this animal. Even then it was beginning to vanish, though naturally it would move farther south in winter in search of more convenient pasturage.

On the second morning of the journey west from Winnipeg, namely on Saturday, February 1, as I stood near the window of the washroom of the sleeper, I got my first surprising glimpse of the Rockies, a sight which I will never forget. The sun shone brightly against the dazzingly white snow-capped peaks of the majestic mountain range, the atmosphere being so pure and clear that, although still about 150 miles distant, they seemed to be just a short way off.

At Calgary I put up at the Alberta Hotel, made some business calls, including the lumberyard and planing mill of Cushing Brothers, from whom I got estimates on millwork for our prospective buildings at Bruederfeld and Bruederheim.

Sunday, February 2, 1896, was my first Sunday in Alberta. I felt something of a thrill as I looked ahead and thought of the Sundays of the future, which by God's grace I hoped to spend in my new Canadian field. In the morning I attended the

Presbyterian church and met the minister, the Rev. Mr. Herdman, and in the evening I was at the Methodist church, of which the Rev. T. C. Buchanan was pastor. The older of the Cushing brothers was an usher at that church. I talked with the minister after the service.

On Monday morning, February 3, I boarded the train for South Edmonton, and thus at last arrived at the scene of my Canadian home missionary labors.

CHAPTER IV.

Trials and Hardships of the Journey

After leaving Libau, the Canadian immigrants first proceeded to Hull on the East Coast of England, whence they traveled by rail to Liverpool. At this great British seaport the long ocean voyage to Canada commenced. We will recount some of the hardships and trials experienced by several of the families that eventually settled in Bruederfeld or Bruederheim, as well as the experiences of one of the families that was heading for Calgary.

We begin with the story of Leopold Lippert, whom we first met en route to Libau. He tells us that he and his family, together with the other thirteen families in whose company they were traveling, spent fifteen days on the water, sailing from Libau to Hull, and across the Atlantic. He writes of his experiences aboard the two ships as harrowing in the extreme. "No pen can describe it," he says. His wife was sick and half blind. A four-year-old boy had fever during the entire voyage. He himself was on his feet almost day and night, until he finally broke down and was practically unconscious for about five days.

After a journey of thirty-seven days they arrived in Winnipeg. Lippert had one dollar left. In Winnipeg they had to remain for three days and then they resumed their journey to Calgary and Edmonton. He had thirty cents left, with which he bought some stale bread in town. A woman gave him a twenty-five cent can of syrup. On this the family subsisted until they reached Edmonton, a journey of three days—the father and six children. The mother remained behind in a Winnipeg hospital as a charity patient, to be treated for blindness. A week later she was sent on to Edmonton, her sight in no wise improved.

Other Volhynians fared no better. Here are some of their stories:

When young Bartz arrived at Halifax he was fortunate to secure a supply of bread from the ship's steward, which lasted him all the way to Edmonton. The steward, learning the plight of the immigrant, had said to him, "Help yourself to all you want. I'll throw it overboard anyway." So Bartz tied up a big bundleful. When he arrived in Edmonton he had five cents left. He had made the whole trip from Halifax to Edmonton alone.

Young Fenske's story is a much longer one. We left him and his three companions in Germany after their successful escape from Russian militarism. Fenske and a certain Fiebig had gotten as far as Bremen, where they had to lie over for twenty days. The following was the cause of their delay. Fenske's parents expected to leave Russia soon after the escape of their son and his companions. But when the older Fenske and his wife were about to set out for Bremen, where they expected to join their son, they were held up at the German border, because they came from a region where the black small pox had broken out. They had to return to their home in Volhynia. This left young Fenske in financial straits. He and Fiebig could not get any work in Bremen as they did not hold the necessary certificates enabling them to obtain jobs. They had to wait until Fenske's parents sent him the necessary money to continue their journey. As soon as some funds arrived, they secured passage to Philadelphia. They obtained work at $1.50 a day, and were hired for six months. Then the financial depression of 1893 set in and they were laid off. This was about the time Andreas Lilge arrived in Bethlehem. Fenske wrote to Lilge for advice, but Lilge did not get the letter until later and finally replied from Edmonton. He advised Fenske to come to Alberta. Fenske started out. When he got as far as Winnipeg, he had $30.00 in his pocket. He found Lilge in Winnipeg, collecting money and provisions from the Mennonites in Manitoba. Lilge secured a job for Fenske with a man by the name of Giesbrecht. There was some misunderstanding regarding the conditions under which Fenske was to work at this man's place. Giesbrecht expected Fenske to work merely for his "keep"; Fenske was counting on at least some cash wages. As Giesbrecht really did not need a hired man, he dismissed Fenske, and after the latter had worked for a week at all manner of odd jobs, including masonry, he returned to Winnipeg, his money daily getting less.

In Winnipeg he fortunately fell in with a man by the name of Mauer, who was running a wood-yard. He proved to be a good

and benevolent man and hired Fenske at fair wages to saw cord wood. Soon after, however, Fenske got sick. It turned out to be pneumonia. The city doctor was called and gave it as his opinion that there was no hope for his recovery. But, to fulfill his duty, he telephoned for the ambulance and had the patient transferred to the charity ward in the hospital. Here he was again carefully examined and received kind treatment from the nurses and the house physician. One day a company of medical students, to the number of fifteen, under the direction of their instructor, gathered around his sickbed, for the purpose of having a practical demonstration given them on the subject of pneumonia.

Fenske was the object of their investigations and had to submit to all sorts of amateur examinations on the part of the medical students. They were quizzed by their instructor and had to answer all sorts of questions, which, of course, were quite unintelligible to the patient. Nevertheless, the minute and exhaustive examination to which he was subjected may have redounded to his good, for at the close of the demonstration the professor wrote out a prescription. The nurses had it filled, and in due time young Fenske was restored to health. Anyway, it is not everybody, least of all a poor man, who can have the benefit of a consultation by fifteen medical men!

After the lapse of a month, Fenske was discharged from the hospital. He felt very lonesome as he went back into the big city. But here his Christian upbringing resulted in material reward. He attended All People's Mission near the C.P.R. station. This city mission has a big sign in about a dozen different languages, bidding strangers welcome.

When Fenske saw the sign, he decided to attend the services, for he longed for Christian fellowship and spiritual refreshing. He made the acquaintance of one of the workers, Mr. T. E. Morden, a newspaper man, one of the city editors of the great Manitoba Free Press. Mr. Morden told his pastor, the Rev. G. R. Turk, of Grace Methodist Church, about the young Moravian immigrant, who had just left the hospital and was still in an enfeebled condition. Mr. Turk engaged young Fenske, giving him odd jobs about his house, cutting wood, etc. He also insisted on his eating dinner at his house instead of going back to his boarding place. Fenske worked for a week and a half for the minister and received $15.90.

About this time he got a letter from his parents and from Rie-

mers, stating that they were coming to Canada. Very soon after that they arrived in Winnipeg, the group consisting of old Fenskes, Riemers, and John Vogel. As soon as possible the entire company proceeded to Edmonton. The dreary stretches of arid prairie which they traversed in Assiniboia and Southern Alberta often discouraged them, but as they came nearer their destination and reached the fertile belt north of Red Deer, with copses of woodland, their hopes revived.

In our last chapter we told the beginning of Christian Seutter's story, recounting his experiences in escaping from the Russian army. He came over from Bremen to New York. At Bremen he paid his last 108 rubles for his ticket, good as far as Winnipeg, so when he got to New York he had no money left to buy provisions for the railroad trip West. Fortunately he fell in with a friendly Polish fellow traveler, who shared his lunch with him. But in Eastern Ontario the Polish passenger got off the train and left Seutter without friends and without food. It was still a three day's trip to Winnipeg, and Seutter had no prospect of getting any food during this time. But God provided in a wonderful way. Somewhere in Ontario the engine broke down, and the train had to stop in the midst of a wild-looking country in deep woods. A German laborer happened along and boarded the train to see what was up. He passed through the immigrant coach. It was filled with Chinamen. There was only one white man in it, and that was our friend Seutter. So the laborer addressed him and found that he was a German like himself. Pretty soon Seutter told him of his plight, how he was penniless and without a crust of bread, with three days of travel ahead. The German laborer said: "Here is my lunch. I was just going to eat it, because it is noon, but I can do without it for once and let you have what I've got." So Seutter took that man's lunch and made it go as far as possible. It was the only thing he got for two days. Meanwhile he was growing sick and faint. All day he lay upon the upper berth of his colonist car upon the hard slats, wishing a hundred times that he had remained in Russia and served the czar. Then at least he would get his sauerkraut soup twice a day. As he pondered upon these things, he leaned out over the edge of his bunk and looked down upon the car floor. His eyes fell upon a bright and shining object. He got down and picked it up. It was a silver coin. But what kind it was he did not know. For aught he knew it might come from China. But he examined it more closely and saw the figure "25" upon it. But still he was in doubt, not knowing what to do.

Just then they came to a station, and a man entered the car with a basket of bread, rolls and buns, offering them for sale. There Seutter sat, almost famished with hunger, with a quarter of a dollar in his hand, yet afraid to offer it, lest it might prove his undoing. For he had never seen or owned an American or Canadian coin. The man was now close to him, with his tempting wares. Seutter eagerly gazed upon the bread and rolls. His hunger at last impelled him to action, regardless of consequences. He pointed to a loaf of bread and hesitatingly held out the coin. The man handed him the bread, took the coin without a word and gave him two ten cent pieces in change. Greatly relieved and with gratitude to God he soon was able to appease his gnawing hunger.

Arriving at Winnipeg, he lived for several days on the rest of his money, buying only dry bread and drinking cold water at the fountains. He looked up the German immigrant agent in Winnipeg, Hugo Carstens, who wrote to an acquaintance in the country. This man agreed to hire Seutter at $6.00 a month. It cost ninety cents to get to his place and this amount Mr. Carstens was willing to loan him for a few weeks. Seutter soon returned $1.00 to Winnipeg in repayment of the loan.

Seutter's work was in the woods. He worked like a slave. He froze his feet, as he was thinly clad and had inadequate footwear. Again he wished he had remained in Russia and served the czar for fifteen years, rather than perish in the wilds of Canada. The long journey and the privations of the trip had left him in an enfeebled condition.

In spite of this he remained at this job for three months. Then the first Volhynians began to arrive—August Paul, Philip Busenius and others. Seutter joined them at Winnipeg and proceeded with them to South Edmonton. He got work sawing boards with a whip-saw at fifty cents a day. Crops were frozen that fall, as the people had arrived too late to sow their grain in ample time.

Let us next hear the story of Ludwig Henkelmann and his wife and family. They had five boys and two girls, and brought with them a nephew—ten persons in all. The oldest of the children was twenty, the youngest half a year. They had come to love the Moravian Church in Volhynia and longed to get to a place where they could have religious liberty. Their troubles began in Libau. They did not have enough money to buy tickets for their family of ten. From Winnipeg on to Edmonton the railway granted free transportation to incoming immigrants. They lacked $100.00, and

had to borrow that amount. Wilhelm Lilge, Adolph Klammer (a son-in-law) and Adolph Schultz chipped together $100.00 with the understanding that Ludwig Henkelmann was to repay the amount upon their arrival in Edmonton. They hoped to do this with the bonus of $10.00 per person, according to a policy inaugurated by the Canadian government some time prior to that period. But by the time this contingent of immigrants arrived, a new law had gone into effect, cancelling the bonus. Thus the Henkelmanns found themselves in an embarrassing predicament. When Andreas Stolz learned of their difficulties, he came to the rescue and let them have the $100.00 for as long as needful, to enable them to repay the loan to the others, who had to have their money.

When the Henkelmann family arrived in Winnipeg they had one dollar left, with no provisions for the last leg of their journey. They bought a cheap kettle and some rice; also a little sugar. Wilhelm Drebert heard of their want and offered to help out with $1.00. This had to last ten persons to South Edmonton.

Another large family was that of Wilhelm Drebert. They were in the same contingent to which the above-mentioned Henkelmanns belonged. Others were the Mauers, the Schuberts and a lot of families that settled in Bruderheim. When the Dreberts arrived in Edmonton they had $100.00 left, one hundred dollars and eight children.

En route across the plains west of Manitoba one of the boys, Ferdinand, later a missionary to Alaska, fell off the train. His older brother Henry was playing with him. They were out on the platform of their colonist car, which had no enclosed vestibule. The train was rounding a curve and threw the young fellow out. By the time the last coach had passed the spot, four-year-old Ferdinand was back on his feet again and running after the train. Meanwhile the alarm had been given on the train and it was brought to a stop to take the little immigrant on again. Years later (in 1949) I read an interesting book entitled "Pioneer Days in Bardo, Alberta," the story of a Norwegian settlement started about the same time south of Beaver Lake as the Moravian colonies of Bruederfeld and Bruederheim. In that book the Ferdinand Drebert incident is narrated essentially in the same way as I have recounted it here. Apparently some Norwegian settlers from Northwestern Minnesota had gotten on the same train at Winnipeg on which our Volhynian Moravians were traveling to Alberta.

God evidently had in mind to use that little child some day, and that is why He miraculously saved him from injury or worse. After I had been in Alberta about ten years I confirmed him together with a goodly number of others. The Saturday before Palm Sunday, I had them come upstairs into my study one by one to have my last private heart to heart talk with each one of them about spiritual matters and their own personal relationship to Christ. When I asked him, among other things: "Well, Ferdinand, have you given any thought to your life-plan, as to what you would like to be or do some day?" "Yes," came the immediate reply, "I thought I would like to become a missionary." Naturally I was overjoyed at this response, and to my great happiness there were three others in the same class who also declared their purpose to enter upon the service of the Lord in the Christian ministry. That same fall I began a preparatory class coaching them in various subjects, so that a year later they could be admitted to our college in Bethlehem (in 1906). In 1912 I ordained Brother Drebert prior to his going to Alaska as a missionary among the Eskimos, a work in which he is still engaged as I write this record. His was the first ordination which I performed after becoming a bishop in 1908.

But to return to my Drebert story. When the family arrived in South Edmonton, nearly all were sick. They were placed in a tent, as the regular immigation shed was filled to capacity. They got the measles. Mr. Drebert, Adolph, Julius and Henry were the only ones that escaped. Julius was appointed cook. We can imagine the confusion and discomfort that must have prevailed under these conditions. We will have more to tell about the experiences of this large family under the headings dealt with in further chapters.

The family of Heinrich Schultz, which was later known as Mud Lake Schultz because their homestead bordered on Mud Lake in Bruederheim, also numbered ten persons. When they arrived at their destination they had no money left, because they had given their last $2.00 away in Libau. They endured many hardships, with their children, on their way over. To the usual discomforts of such a long journey, sickness was added; and this sore trial followed them all the way to Bruederheim, where it culminated in the tragedy related in Chapter VI.

One of the Calgary families also passed through some agonizing travel experiences both in Europe and in Canada. In Liverpool one of their children came down with the measles. As a result

the entire family had to be held there, while other families in their group were allowed to proceed. In about three weeks the sick child was restored and the family could resume their voyage alone. After their arrival in New York they had to secure tickets to Calgary. By some error or through somebody's negligence the tickets were made out to a certain point in Ontario. When the family got to Montreal, the youngest child, about two years old, took sick. But none of the officials noticed it and, fearing lest they might be detained once more, the people concealed the fact.

After a few hours' stopover in Montreal, they took the train again, believing themselves finally safe on the way to Calgary. But when the conductor came around and examined their ticket he found that they were on the wrong train. Consequently they were set off at a small station, where they had to remain all night. Here they were near to despair. The night was cold. The baby was sick and cried nearly all the time. They themselves could scarcely keep from freezing. There was nobody to help or to comfort them. They spent the greater part of the night in weeping. Finally, in the morning, a train came along and took them back to Montreal. Here they were transferred to another depot and had to purchase a new ticket to Calgary. Thus the passage from New York to Calgary cost them nearly double the ordinary amount.

CHAPTER V.

Seeking and Selecting Land

The experiences made by the early settlers in seeking and selecting land were marked by new difficulties and hardships. The tract of land tentatively set apart for the incoming Moravian settlers, as agreed upon in the negotiations between Andreas Lilge and the Dominion Government, lay some fifteen or eighteen miles to the east-north-east of Fort Saskatchewan. Roughly, that was about forty-five miles from the South Edmonton immigration headquarters. To inspect that land meant a long and weary tramp, in most cases on foot. The newcomers had to cross the Saskatchewan River twice, first at Edmonton and then back again at Fort Saskatchewan. Crossing was by ferry, which cost, I believe, ten or fifteen cents per person at that time. To avoid this expense the trip could be made entirely on the south side of the river, but this added about ten miles to the journey by the trails then available.

Arrived at the scene, it was no easy matter to determine the exact boundaries of the individual quarter sections. The surveyors' lines were no longer distinct, having been cut through the woods and the brush some years previously. The corner posts in many cases were hard to find and the marks on them could not be deciphered or interpreted by the land seekers. To explore an entire quarter section and determine its desirability as one's new home presented some difficulty, for 160 acres after all represented quite an area of land in the eyes of Europeans.

The tract beyond Fort Saskatchewan was far removed from markets and railway facilities; it was rather heavily timbered in places and presented in its wild state a rough and forbidding appearance. No wonder the spirits of some of the people sank when they first laid eyes upon what was to be their new home. Memories came back of the pleasant, well-tilled fields they had left behind in Russia; here they saw nothing but hard work ahead and isolation for years to come in an inhospitable-looking environment. No wonder some of the families, especially those that had a little money, decided against going away out beyond Fort Saskatchewan, and began to investigate the possibility of acquiring land only a few miles out from South Edmonton on the Papaschase Indian Reservation, which had recently been opened for sale by the Indian Department at Ottawa.

In this chapter we will mainly describe some of the long trips afoot made to the tract reserved for our Moravians east of "The Fort," near what was known as "Spring Creek," a little, spring-fed stream, where a certain Scotchman by the name of William Leslie had established a ranch. Let us begin with the story related to me by William Fenske.

He and Julius Riemer and John Vogel, all of whom ultimately bought land on the "Reserve," first investigated the Spring Creek tract. They made the trip on foot. They carried nothing with them but a spade, with which to examine the soil as they went along. They took no provisions, as they had some money and expected to buy a little food on the way. On the first day they walked about twenty-five miles, reaching Fort Saskatchewan by the south road at night. They spent the night tramp-fashion in a little poplar grove on the outskirts of the Fort. Next day they started for the Beaver Hills (Josephsberg), a settlement almost due east of the Fort, where they expected to find some Germans from Austria, but they lost their way. They

came to a settler's shack and asked for some food, intending to pay for it. Young Fenske, who had learned a little English in Philadelphia and at Winnipeg, acted as spokesman. The settler in his rude shack had to inform them that he had practically nothing to eat himself and so could not sell them any food. They tried the next place. Again they were told that the larder was empty. At the third house, belonging to an Englishman, they received dinner at twenty-five cents apiece. In a roundabout way they finally got to the Beaver Hills German settlement and struck a place belonging to a German Austrian by the name of Rempel. He sold them a little bread, and then they proceeded to where Bruederheim now stands. They came to Leslie's spruce woods at Spring Creek, but did not like the country one bit. They considered it too heavily timbered and too remote from town. They stayed another day in the vicinity, spending the night in the woods, and started back to Fort Saskatchewan the following morning.

About eight miles from Spring Creek they came upon the shack of another Austrian, whose name was Krebs. He lived near a little stream called Deep Creek. They wanted to buy some bread, but the housewife said she had none; she was going to bake some that day and by evening they could get some. But they could not remain that long. They asked for some eggs and at last the woman managed to get ten of them together, for which the men paid her twenty cents. One of them drank his eggs raw out of the shell. The other two said they could not eat their eggs that way. So they built a fire, took their spade, filled its shallow depth with water and thus boiled their eggs by rolling them around in the boiling water with a stick. At length they got back to South Edmonton, footsore and weary, hungry and much discouraged. Their long tramp of about a hundred miles had proved fruitless, except that they concluded they would not settle at Spring Creek.

From Ludwig Henkelmann I got a similar story. He and two others, Carl Mauer and Johan Schubert, also footed it to "Bruederheim," likewise traveling to Fort Saskatchewan on the south side of the river to save sixty cents. They had no money with them and only a little bread. They evidently expected to come across benevolent people. At Fort Saskatchewan they played out. They were allowed to rest for the night in a stable. They made an early start the next morning and got to Bruederheim by

evening. But they accomplished nothing—they only tired themselves out. All three eventually settled in Bruederfeld. On the return trip there was a larger party. One of them had some money and paid the ferriage for the rest, so that they could travel on the north side of the river, which was much shorter.

Opposite the Fort, on the north side of the Saskatchewan, they passed a farm house near the road. The farmer, who was just straining his milk, pitied them when he saw their care-worn faces. So he called to them. Naturally they could not understand what he was saying. But he showed them the milk and made them understand by signs that they were welcome to refresh themselves. They eagerly accepted the invitation as soon as they understood. The man also brought a quantity of bread for them. Shortly after that a man came along with a lumber wagon. He too pitied the weary travelers and allowed them to get in—a big load. They thus got back from their fruitless landseeking trip, truly grateful for the kindness shown them by strangers.

Wilhelm Drebert and his oldest son Adolph also walked to Bruederheim a few days after their arrival in South Edmonton. By that time, it seems, some Bruederheimers had already settled there, including Andreas Lilge, no doubt. He was disturbed that his Volhynians were apparently going to split and did what he could to induce as many as possible to locate there. The Dreberts were willing to investigate. But on this trip the father got sick and finally decided against joining the Lilge settlement. He was sick all the following winter. His good friend, Andreas Stolz, who was anxious anyhow to keep this family on the Reserve, offered to make the first down-payment for him on the quarter section of land just north of the Stolz quarter. As soon as a house could be gotten measurably ready for occupancy, the Dreberts moved in. This was about the end of September. Then it began to snow, and the snow fell through the unfinished roof on the bed of the sick father.

Young Gustav Bartz was another one of the immigrants who made the trip to Bruederheim on foot. His sister, Mrs. Wilhelm Lilge, and her family had arrived there earlier, and he wanted to join them after his delay in Germany. He started out all alone to find his sister. Some one had told him roughly how to get there, so he set out with a quantity of stale bread, which he bought with his last five cents. On the other side of Fort Saskatchewan he lost his way. Fortunately he came to a house

of an Austrian German by the name of Gauf, who let him sleep at his place. In Bruederheim he found his married sister, and his troubles were over for a few days.

We next refer to the experiences of Heinrich Schultz, when looking for a homestead. This family arrived in South Edmonton on July 6, 1894, and three or four days later the father set out with five or six others to inspect the land reserved for the colony by Lilge. They traveled on the south side of the river, as they had no money for ferriage. At Spring Creek only the rancher Leslie was living. He permitted them to make their headquarters on his place. They located the homesteads with difficulty as the lines were no longer well marked and the corner stakes were unintelligible to them. It was a dry summer and they came across no good drinking water on their weary tramp through the woods. They had to have recourse to drinking slough water, which they secured by making little wooden spades and digging a small hole near the edge of the water in order to enable the latter to seep through and collect in the depression. Dry bread and this impure water was all they had to eat on such marches. On this first trip many of the men did not find their land at all and had to return to the immigration shed disappointed.

Perhaps the most complete account of land-seeking hardships was written by Leopold Lippert. We translate his account almost verbatim. It appears from his story that about the same time his contingent arrived in South Edmonton, or soon after, the half carload of supplies that Lilge had collected from the Mennonites in Manitoba also reached South Edmonton. The shipment contained many sacks of flour, some ham and bacon, used clothing and other articles. Some of the men were absent on their landhunt, and at the time the box-car had to be unloaded only four able-bodied men (Lippert and three others) were on hand. It was hard work, and their leader, A. Lilge, made them remain on the job all day. By six in the evening the car was unloaded. The women made flour soup and baked bread, and the four men, dead tired as they were, expected to retire early. But Lilge insisted on their starting out at once for the land reserved for them, so that they would arrive by the following afternoon. Lippert and his companions pleaded exhaustion, but Lilge said: "I am hiring a rig tomorrow morning and I expect to be there by evening and I want you to be there also by the time I get

there.'' So Lippert and his two companions had to start out on foot immediately, without a good night's rest. Each of the three men received two loaves of the freshly baked bread for the journey and they set out.

They had been told in a general way in which direction they were to travel, but in the darkness and on the unfamiliar ground they soon got lost. After walking a long time they came to a fork in the road. They had not been told about that fork and had no idea which might be the right road. So they took the one to the right. After a while they came to the shack and awakened the owner from his sleep. He was an Englishman, so they could not talk with him. Finally they said: ''Fort Saskatchewan'' and were given to understand that they were on the wrong trail. The Englishman directed them as best he could by pointing to the north and trying to make them understand that after a certain distance they would have to turn to the right. Well, they eventually got to the bank opposite the Fort, where a ferry had to take them across the river. The fare was twenty-five cents. The other two men had the money, but Lippert did not own a cent, and they could not help him out. What now? Would he have to remain behind and let the others go on alone?

Just then a man with a load of hay came along. He was a German and was on his way to the Fort. He suggested that Lippert crawl on his wagon and hide in the hay, and so he would smuggle Lippert across the river. He said: ''I have to pay for the ferry anyway and you might as well steal your way across in my load of hay.'' Although this went against his conscience, Lippert had no other choice, and so he got to the Fort surreptitiously.

It was now early morning of the day on which they were to arrive at Spring Creek. They still had eighteen miles to walk. One of the trio had a shotgun and as they had had nothing to eat but dry bread all night and all forenoon thus far, this man shot a rabbit and they started roasting it at an open fire on the prairie. But Lippert could not eat any of the rabbit, in fact he had not been able to take any food all night. Just across from where they had built their fire, a German by the name of Krebs lived. He noticed the fire and came over to investigate what it was all about. He was glad to meet the German-speaking strangers and noticed that Lippert was not eating. ''Are you sick?'' he asked. ''Not yet,'' said Lippert, ''but I am not feeling very

well and I cannot eat this fare.'' So Krebs went back to the house and brought Lippert a quantity of milk. That refreshed him greatly.

Eventually the men reached their destination, and their leader also arrived with the land inspector. The following day the search for homesteads began, but not so many good quarters could be found on the township reserved south of the Victoria Trail, so that some land north of the trail had also to be selected. Consequently some of the settlers were separated as much as four and five miles from each other.

The search for the homestead was a wearisome task, and Lippert became quite ill. Their supply of bread ran out, and the company had to subsist on rabbits and hawks, roasted at the fire. The night was cold and they were obliged to lie out under the open heavens without covering. The grass was stiff with hoarfrost by morning. Lippert had to ride back with Lilge's buggy when the latter returned to town with the inspector. At the immigration hall Lippert got some warm food, even if it was nothing more than flour soup, and gradually he regained his strength.

As soon as possible all the immigrants had to make their homestead selections and move out upon their claims, as the immigration hall in South Edmonton had to be cleared for the purpose of admitting further arrivals. They pooled their meager resources to secure transportation for the women and children and their few belongings. We will follow their further trials in the next chapter.

In 1902, seven years after Bruederheim and Bruederfeld had been organized, a group of members from the latter congregation set out on a land-hunting expedition of a different type. Our four-day jaunt in two lumber wagons was a lark, but it resulted in the founding of a new colony and the establishing of the congregation of New Sarepta.

CHAPTER VI.

Hard Beginnings

All the families had hard beginnings in the new world. We cannot tell the story of every one, but take a few average examples. That of the Lipperts belongs to this class. He had quite a family and an almost blind wife. The provisions they had obtained were just about exhausted.

In March, 1894, Lippert was hired by an Englishman twelve miles away. He worked for him for two weeks and earned $6.00, the first Canadian money he got. Prior to that he had excavated a cellar for another Englishman, twelve or fifteen miles from home.

Other families fared no better. Some of the men became sick from undernourishment and superhuman exertions. One family head spent almost half a year in bed, the winter's snow blowing in through the unfinished roof upon his bed. A certain brave woman, Mrs. Julius Riemer, who had given birth to a baby girl in the immigration shed in South Edmonton, had agreed to move out upon their quarter section of land before her husband could build a decent house. Their hut was made of brush, covered over with old bags and blankets. The mother and her three-weeks-old baby slept in the wagon box. Their bedding consisted of hand-picked slough grass. Rains set in and every thing was drenched with water. Mosquitoes became insufferable. Smudges scarcely availed. The mother sat up whole nights trying to ward off the pests from her child.

In some of the families measles broke out. Several of the children felt the after-effects for years. The family of Heinrich Schultz had moved to Bruederheim and, soon after, their children developed measles. Four of them died, and the father had to make their coffins himself out of rough-hewn slabs and conduct their burial as well on a quiet place on his homestead. When I got to Bruederheim they were moved to the newly consecrated church cemetery, and I read the burial service late one afternoon.

A forest fire threatened a settler's home and it was only by heroic efforts that the woman, whose husband was away at work, managed to save the building and its contents with the help of her little children. Another settler's house caught fire accidentally while the father was absent, and his wife could not extinguish the flames. She carried the scars all through her life. Hard beginnings indeed!

Men lost track of the days of the week in one or two instances. A certain brother was caught one Sunday grubbing out in his field. His neighbor discovered the unintentional breach of the Lord's Day when he was riding to meeting past this man's place. He never heard the last of it, but one day the same man rode past the same settler's place and again found

him working on his place. "Hello, neighbor," he cried, "working on Sunday again, I see." "Oh no," the other replied, "you don't catch me a second time; this isn't Sunday." "Indeed it is," said the guardian of the Lord's Day, "and I am on my way to meeting." "Go ahead, if you want to, but I'm going tomorrow." And so they argued back and forth. The former Sabbath breaker was sure of his ground this time and could not be shaken. His accuser did not consider him much of an authority on the calendar and rode in majesty to meeting. At the next place he found another member hard at work on his field. He now recognized his mistake and galloped home.

In Bruederfeld the death of two of the early pioneers left their respective families in destitute circumstances. The first death to occur was that of Friedrich Hoppe. The following year Julius Riemer succumbed. Both left young and helpless children.

One of the saddest tragedies befell a family not at first connected either with Bruederfeld or Bruederheim—the family of Ludwig Stelter, then living at Josephsberg in Assiniboia. They later settled in Bruederheim. Their eleven-year-old girl, Matilda, was lost on the prairie near Josephsberg while looking for the cattle. No trace of her was ever found. The full story, as it was given me in writing after the family settled in Bruederheim, is inserted at the close of this chapter.

Prayer and faith in God were the only things that helped these pioneers through their early hardships and struggles. They would sometimes get together in one of their humble shacks and weep over their sad lot—no comforts, no necessities of life at times, no ordered church life. But after weeping a while some one would start up a song, and then another and another, for many of them were good singers, and they knew many hymns by heart. These old songs cheered them. Then they got down on their knees and prayed and were strengthened, ready to take up tomorrow's burdens with new hope and courage.

Their unfamiliarity with the language also made their beginnings hard. They felt so forlorn in a strange land, among strange people, speaking a strange tongue. During my first year or two I could see how helpless they were in many respects because of their inability to talk English. Few favors were so appreciated as my serving them as interpreter when they had to consult the land office agent, go to a lawyer to draw up their

papers, visit the doctor, the implement dealer, the lumber yards and prospective employers.

But they readily picked up the English language, especially the girls who served as domestics in town. It wasn't long before even the women could transact their business with the merchants quite efficiently, though they tell of many amusing experiences when they wrestled with English. Some of them thought the English language was a very funny sort of speech, quite inferior to their own mother tongue and even to Russian, which some of them spoke with ease. One of the people, Gottfried Schultz, once gave me an interesting example of what he considered a weakness of the English language. He was complaining how when you talked to an Englishman you sometimes could not make out what he was saying, because there seemed to be so few words in English that the same word served for different things. There is some truth to that, but the difference will come out in the spelling, as for example in such words as "aisle" and "isle," "write" and "right," "sight" and "site." But the illustration given by Gottfried Schultz to "prove" the deficiency of the English vocabulary was interesting and amusing, since it showed that he had not yet learned to distinguish some of the niceties of sound in English. He was explaining to me how the Englishman when he talks about his *Hosen* (German for pants) he calls them "pents," when he talks about *Diebel,* which is the German word for the wooden pins or pegs used to fasten logs together, he also calls them "pents." But when the children started going to the excellent Canadian schools they soon learned to speak English more perfectly than many of the children that came with their families from some of the Western States, where the English language, especially its grammar, has been greatly corrupted.

To the credit of even our adult immigrants it must be said that hardships created by the language difficulties were soon conquered, along with other difficulties of early days.

The Story of a Lost Girl.—The Ludwig Stelter family originally came from Russia, where they had become somewhat acquainted with the Moravian Brethren through the *diaspora* workers. For a while they lived in Winnipeg, Manitoba, but early in 1894 they moved to Dunmore, a little town about eight miles east of Medicine Hat, in what was then called the Pro-

visional District of Assiniboia in the Northwest Territories. Mr. Stelter found work at Dunmore as a section-hand. The family at that time consisted of two girls and three boys. The younger of the two girls was called Matilda, a bright, normal child about eleven years old. She could read and write both English and German, had a good memory and knew many songs and children's prayers by heart.

The country round about Dunmore is undulating prairie, typical ranching country at that time, sparsely settled and cut up by numerous so-called coulees or ravines, either with or without streams of water. The Stelters, like others of the villagers, had a few cows that went out grazing in the adjacent prairie during the day, but had to be brought home every evening.

On April 19, 1895, Matilda Stelter and a neighbor's girl of the same age by the name of Neumann had gone for the cows in the late afternoon. Like healthy children they played around in the coulees, where there were trees, which afforded them a special attraction in the otherwise treeless prairies. They loved to swing on the boughs while leisurely looking for the cattle. They were engaged in this innocent pastime on the fateful day. Unknown to them, a neighbor had come along on horseback and had taken the Stelter and Neumann cows home. When the girls were finally ready to start for home, they could not find their cows—they were gone. It was getting dark, but they were afraid to return without the cows, so they started to search for them far and wide. They lost their bearings and could no longer tell in which direction their home lay.

When the girls did not arrive, their fathers became alarmed and started out in search of them. When the fathers failed to return within a reasonable time, the mothers became deeply concerned. They went over to Mr. Dixon, the kindly village store keeper, and asked for a lantern. Seeing what it meant to them, he gave them all the lanterns he had in the store and notified others to assist in the search.

After several hours the Neumann girl was found, exhausted and frightened. She told them that they had become confused and that Matilda had gone off in an opposite direction. After a good night's rest she had quite recovered from her terrible experience, but could tell nothing more than that they had become lost in the increasing darkness.

Meanwhile the search for the Stelter girl was continued for practically all night without discovering a trace of her. About four in the morning the searchers returned to the village for consultation, food and rest. At day-break more help was offered. The section foreman released all available men from their duties. The entire community was aroused and talked of nothing else. The only doctor in Medicine Hat came out to join the searchers for the next few days, in order to be on hand to render professional aid. Many stories of heroism could be told about the assistance rendered on all sides. Laborers collected money and hired Indians who were trained in nature's ways and knew the country intimately. Livery barn owners gave their horses and men, free of charge, to help in the effort. Cowboys, who also knew all the coulees perfectly, joined in the search.

For two weeks the search continued incessantly, but the difficulties seemed insuperable. The deep ravines, the very high cutbanks, the heavy undergrowth lining the tortuous creeks—all this made the task of thoroughly scouring the country practically hopeless. One unfortunate circumstance was the fact that a convention of police was being held about this time some fifty miles from Medicine Hat, leaving only a few men on duty. When the others returned they also did everything in their power.

One theory was that some Indians picked up the exhausted girl and took her with them. Even after the organized search had been given up, everybody traversing that vast prairie kept a sharp lookout for possible clues, such as pieces of cloth, or fragments of bones that were brought in to be examined to determine whether they were human. One of our Moravian ministers, E. Suemper, once came upon a skull in the dry stream bed in one of the coulees, but experts declared that it was the skull of an adult Indian. Even as late as 1920 a rumor, that Indians traveling near New Sarepta in Alberta had a white woman in their band, was followed up, but to no avail. A reward of fifty dollars, a big sum in those days, was offered by kind friends to any one that could give information solving the mystery. To this day it remains a secret, which only eternity will divulge.

CHAPTER VII.

Housekeeping Problems

The first huts, it must be remembered, were mere brush affairs. One or two were still standing when I got to Alberta. They had no floors and were so low that you had to stoop to enter. Even the first winter houses, which replaced the twig shelters, were constructed of logs so light that the men and women could carry them together on their shoulders, and had only dirt floors. Housekeeping was reduced to the simplest principles in these rude buildings. The housewife did not have to scrub any floors, did not do much sweeping and never bothered about dusting.

Of kitchen utensils most homes had very few. One young couple started out with a single kettle, which the bride had borrowed from her mother. In that kettle she cooked her potatoes, stewed her rabbits and boiled her tea. There were a few extra cups and saucers. If visitors came, they were served first.

Most of the house furnishings were crude home-made affairs: bedsteads, stools, tables. Many of the men were handy with tools, if only they had had more of them. Even so they could make very neat wooden tubs and pails, as well as such simpler things like mixing bowls, kneading troughs, rolling pins and mangles. They worked mostly the clean, odorless, white wood of the aspen or trembling poplar.

Flour was used very sparingly for bread the first year or two. It served as one of the chief ingredients for soup, rabbit stews and other concoctions. Barley meal was largely used in lieu of wheat flour for bread. One brother related how he came into possession of a quantity of barley, for which one of the children had worked. He made a heavy wooden stamper, with which he crushed the grain until it was reduced to a coarse meal. This was baked into little barley loaves in true biblical fashion, on which the family subsisted a long time.

Housekeeping problems during the first winter or two were partially solved by the prevalence of rabbits, as is mentioned in another connection. They occurred in great abundance from 1894 to 1895 and even the following winter, but then were due to disappear or at least to diminish greatly in accordance with their seven-year cycle. They proved a great help in the pioneer kitchen; but a too steady diet of rabbit meat without proper seasoning became almost too much for the people, who, like the

Israelites of old, finally became surfeited with them. The rabbits were caught in pits, because ammunition was scarce and expensive. Some of the settlers did not even own a shot gun. The rabbits were commonly stewed but the settlers prepared them in a variety of other ways too. Some were salted or pickled to be made into a sour hare soup. If the cooks had fat, they could fry some of the meat. But sometimes they did not even have salt and then the rabbits must have been unpalatable. Nevertheless, on the whole, the people accepted them as a veritable godsend and were truly grateful for these providential supplies in a time of near-famine.

Pork, so greatly relished by people in cold countries, was a rare delicacy for a long time. Some of the people could not raise pigs for several years, because they did not have the necessary feed for them.

There were other early trials of housekeeping. One family had no matches for a long time. They were obliged to keep glowing embers in their ashes to rekindle their fire when mealtime came. Kerosene lamps were not always a part of the home equipment, either because the settlers had not yet acquired such a luxury or because they could not afford to buy "coal oil" at sixty cents a gallon. In one home I found they had a little lamp and a small quantity of kerosene in it, but there was no chimney, and so the dim flame smoked up the room and filled the place with an unpleasant odor. Tallow candles were used by some of the people, but, as can be imagined, they produced poor light even in the smallest shack. But that was far better than what I found in one settler's hut. He had nothing in the way of commercial illumination, so he took a shallow dish, placed some liquid skunk grease in it, and twisted a piece of rag into a wick, which projected over one side of the dish. The tiny flame that flickered at the end of the wick was supposed to lighten the settler's humble dwelling during one of those long and dreary winter nights, which lasted from four in the afternoon to nine in the morning. When Mrs. Hoyler joined me in Alberta and we were invited to stay for supper, that was one of the things she sorely missed—a bright, cheery evening-lamp on the supper table. What a privilege for us today to enjoy our brilliant light! And, of course, our Canadians now have those same conveniences which we are accustomed to: electric lights even in many of the rural sections, or some of the mantle-burning lamps which

turn night into day where power lines have not been run. Some of the more prosperous farmers installed their own lighting system after not too many years, the Delco system becoming quite popular.

CHAPTER VIII.

Efforts at Earning a Livelihood

Many of our Alberta Moravians were poor. They had little money left after they got to their new homes. Some of the families were large. Naturally the parents tried to find work for their able-bodied sons, even those that should have been attending school, if schools had existed. Some of the people, not able to find jobs for their children, were willing to let them work out for their "keep."

Some of the people succeeded in getting jobs near home. Several women, like Mrs. Riemer, tried berry-picking. Wild strawberries were quite plentiful the first year or two, but mosquitoes were so pestiferous that it was almost impossible to gather the luscious fruit hidden in the grass, where the mosquitoes lurked and swarmed to attack those who disturbed them. Taking the berries to town on foot the pickers received such pitifully small cash returns that it was most discouraging. Mrs. Riemer once told me that she got $1.00 for a large water pail full of the finest strawberries.

Mrs. Gottfried Schultz got some jobs near town—scrubbing, washing, cleaning. She had to walk back and forth every day, a distance of five miles or more. In the evening after she got home, she helped her husband in the hay fields till it was dark, and in summer darkness does not set in until 10 o'clock or later. Meanwhile their eleven-year-old daughter Julia got work in a home a mile and a half south of South Edmonton for $2.00 a month.

Gottfried Schultz himself expected to realize something from his hay-making enterprise. Luxuriant grass grew everywhere in the rich meadows and lowlands and he hoped to sell his crop for a fair cash price. When he was ready to market his hay, nobody wanted it. Finally Mrs. Schultz herself borrowed a wagon and took a load to town on her own responsibility. But she, too, had difficulty in disposing of it. In the end a Mr. Malcolm MacIntyre used his influence with one of the merchants to take it off her hands. He paid a sack of inferior flour for the

hay, and even one hundred pounds of fairly good flour in those days, so-called "Strong Bakers," could be had for $1.50 or less.

Shortly after this, Mrs. Schultz found a market for the rest of their hay. Near where her daughter Julia worked there was a family that had a number of cows but not much hay of their own. So Mrs. Schultz ventured to call on the people in hope of doing business with them. To her joy, the woman could talk German—a very friendly young housewife. Mrs. Schultz told her story in her own straightforward, winsome way, whereupon the young woman explained matters to her English-speaking husband. The latter at once consented to take the entire hay crop and offered $30.00 cash. He also loaned his team to Schultz, so that he could haul the hay to the man's place. For this he got an additional $6.00. He also got a job digging a well for a neighbor at fifty cents per foot. In this way he earned $10.00 in three days—a veritable fortune. These people did a great deal for the Schultz family, and the latter were always very grateful to them.

Mrs. Schultz also tried another scheme for raising money. She had bought a few chickens with her strawberry money. During the first harvest she walked to Irvine's place near town every day to gather the loose barley heads lying on the field. She beat them out with a stick and took the grain home for her chickens. Moreover, she gathered the loose oats spilled at the grain warehouse in South Edmonton.

One of the large Bruederfeld families was that of Ludwig Henkelmann. They had a number of boys and one young girl who was suffering from a mastoid, the after-effects of an attack of scarlet fever. The oldest daughter was married and still resided in Volhynia. The father, a skilled carpenter, was especially good at building log houses. He could do the most beautiful dovetailing at the corners. He soon got jobs at his trade and earned fifty cents a day, putting up buildings for Andreas Stoltz, August Paul and a shoemaker by the name of Buhrer, who lived on a homestead some miles southeast of Bruederfeld. His shop was in South Edmonton and his family worked the farm. Every Saturday evening he passed our house on the way to his homestead, where he spent Sunday with his family.

The oldest Henkelmann boy, Gottfried, was twenty and started to work off the $100.00, which the father owed Andreas Stolz. The boy was hired for a year at $50.00. Another son, Gustav,

sixteen years old, got a job with a German Catholic family ten miles northeast of Edmonton, about twenty miles from home. He earned four dollars a month. A younger boy, Samuel, also worked for this Catholic for a while.

These Henkelmanns had still another son, the second oldest, Ludwig, Jr., who experienced hardships all his own. He had gotten a job when he was eighteen and worked at it eight days, when the man gave him fifty cents or 4½ cents per day, less than the cost of a postage stamp for a letter to Russia.

The aforementioned shoemaker, Fred Buhrer, then told them of a settler about ten miles east of Edmonton, who wanted to hire a boy. So Mrs. Henkelmann started out with Ludwig to find this man's place. They missed the road, and as neither could talk English they wandered around all day in their fruitless search, finally returning to Edmonton and from there to Bruederfeld.

Another large family was that of Wilhelm Drebert—all boys. Their oldest son was Adolph. He had gone to work for a man by the name of Hewitt, a mason by trade, who lived about halfway between Bruederfeld and town. Young Drebert had considerable difficulty collecting his wages. He called for them again and again, but without success. Finally Hewitt gave him a sick calf and Drebert accepted it in settlement. Fortunately the calf did not die. A second son, Julius, tried to get a job in a local coal mine, but failed, though he applied six times. Next the father bought a whipsaw, hoping that the boys could earn a little money in that way. But in winter the green logs were frozen so hard that the saw did not work. Finally young Drebert went to work without pay, just to earn his living and not have to help eat up the bread at home. The aforesaid Adolph later had interesting experiences as a sheep-herder in Assiniboia.

Another young Bruederfelder, by the name of Ludwig Martins, tells of some of his earliest efforts at earning a livelihood. The first summer he earned $12.00, practically all he had to live on. In those days they made bread out of bran. In winter he worked for Fuhrhop for practically nothing more than his meals and a few extras. His footwear consisted of old bags, clumsily tied about his feet. One time he worked for three days for a small lamp. He also tells about the poor prices people got for their produce. Potatoes brought eight cents a bushel, eggs eight

cents a dozen, butter eight cents a pound, and oftimes nobody wanted to buy their butter and they had to take it home again.

The people in Bruederheim fared no better in trying to earn a little money. In some ways they were worse off, because they lived so much farther from all markets. When Gustav Werner first landed at the immigration shed in South Edmonton, he got a job out on the Reserve and worked at it for eight days; by way of wages the farmer agreed to haul him and his family and meager effects to Bruederheim. He was a big man, six feet three inches, able-bodied and strong. He decided to make hay for sale. He had to make it all by hand, cutting the grass with a scythe. Altogether he made forty loads. His stack measured forty feet in length, eighteen feet in width and correspondingly in height. He could not dispose of it that fall or winter. The rabbits were very numerous and destructive that year, and when he finally got rid of it the following spring, he realized on it the fabulous amount of $25.00 or sixty cents a load. Werner also mentions how little he got for other products: six cents a dozen for eggs; eight cents in trade for a pound of butter exchanged for salt at retail price.

One of the Bruederheimers, Julius Prochnau, tried his fortune weaving baskets out of willow withes, especially the red-osier dogwood shoots or kinnickinnick suckers. He wove bushel baskets, market baskets, wash baskets, and general utility baskets. Some were beautifully made. He cooked the withes in a long bath to make them pliable and to remove the bark more easily. We bought one of his wash baskets. It lasted a long time and finally served as a bassinet for our first-born child. He also made some of his own tools, as e.g. an augur bit. For this purpose he secured just a plain strip of iron about an inch wide, heated it in his home-made forge and twisted it to make it look like the shank of a store augur. On the upper end he made a loop for the insertion of a wooden handle to turn it; the lower end he laboriously filed down to give it the point with thread and cutting flanges.

Wilhelm Schultz, near Mud Lake, did the same and also made knives or blades for his planes. Somebody gave him a piece of broken whipsaw, out of which he manufactured various widths and types of blade for insertion into the blocks that constituted the holders of his cutting blades. Being of fine quality steel they took a perfect edge. He made planes for tongue and groove work,

rabbets, etc. With his planes Schultz made wooden pails and other utensils, selling them for a modest sum and thus acquiring a little cash.

One of his boys, ten years old, was hired out to a farmer for one year for the munificent sum of $10.00. And that was not cash, but produce, namely a certain number of bushels of barley. But that barley was put to good use, as related in the preceding chapter. The father made a heavy wooden stamper, with which he crushed the grain and converted it into a coarse meal, on which his family subsisted for a long time.

Another boy of the same family, fifteen years old, worked for a certain Mr. Thomas for $18.00 a year and his clothing. The $18.00 were not paid in cash but in grain. Cash was a rare article in that family. They could not sell their butter and eggs, could not even dispose of these products in trade. Edmonton had only two stores in those days, and if a third one started up, one of the others had to go to the wall. Only after four years a market gradually developed. For the first three years the family could not raise a pig, as they had nothing to feed it. Once another family butchered a pig and took it to town to sell. They got two and a half cents per pound for dressed meat. Often the people had to take their produce back home again, because no one cared for it. In the second or third year the Schultzes had a little grain to sell. They had to haul it forty miles to market. They traveled largely by night, walking behind their sleighs and often freezing their faces in the bitter cold. And all they got for the best of their wheat was thirty cents a bushel.

Other Bruederheim families made similar experiences. The story of Leopold Lippert reads like a chapter from famine days. Lippert had $1.00 left when he got to Winnipeg—one dollar and a family of six children and a sick, half-blind wife. After the family arrived in Bruederheim and moved on to their homestead, their privations began in earnest.

Lippert looked for work. Some twelve or fifteen miles away there was an English family whom he sought out. He couldn't speak a word of English, but by means of signs he could make them understand that he would like to work. They took him away some distance and told Lippert to start digging a cellar. It was hard work. The ground was frozen like a rock, but Lippert did not let the people down. After a number of days he worried about his family. He had left no provisions worth speak-

ing of, for he had none to leave for them. He felt a strong urge to go back to see how they were faring. The English farmer gave him forty pounds of flour and a pig's head. Then he started homeward, a distance of twelve miles. The snow was two feet deep. When he was within two miles of his shack, his strength failed. By making a superhuman effort he roused himself once more and continued on his way, his bundle of provisions getting heavier by the minute. When his children spied him, they came running out to meet him and were overjoyed at the sight of the pig's head. His family had not had anything to eat for twenty-four hours. One of the little boys had begged his mother to go to the well and to haul some eatables out of it, as he had seen her get water.

One of the young men of Bruederheim also had his share of hardships—Gustav Bartz. He finally got a job at thirty cents a day. He had to walk two miles every morning and evening. During the day he cut timber. It was a cold winter and his clothing was inadequate, so he suffered much from the weather. For a while he worked for Mr. Leslie at Spring Creek (Bruederheim) and got fifty cents a day. On these wages he decided to marry. He had managed to acquire eighty pounds of flour, which had to last the newly-weds till Christmas. He had no other financial resources, no bank account, no cash to amount to anything.

They were godly young people and they prospered. They raised a fine family. Their income of necessity rose many hundred-fold over their first year's receipts, and so they could buy all the food required for the family over and above what they raised on their farm. After they had been married twenty years, their grocery bill at one Bruederheim store alone amounted to over $1,000.00 for that year.

There were other ways of earning money. Distant pastures always seem greenest, and so several of our young men thought they could better themselves by going farther afield. Calgary looked promising from the standpoint of remunerative employment. It was a much larger place than Edmonton at that time—having a couple thousand people against Edmonton's eight hundred. (Today, 1949, Calgary has a population of about 100,000 and Edmonton over 135,000). One of the first to try Calgary was a young fellow—I think it was the son of Ludwig Henkelmann—who started out all alone on foot, a distance by trail of over two hundred miles. He took no money with him, as he had

none. He took no provisions along, as his people could not spare any. He hoped to do odd jobs by the way and thus earn a meal now and then. He got to Calgary all right, walked around for many days, but found no work. In despair he turned homeward. Famished and well-nigh dead he arrived in Bruederfeld one Sunday morning, while his people were at a neighbor's for service. Upon their return they found him lying on a bed, with swollen feet, completely exhausted, scarcely able to speak. He had walked nearly half a thousand miles in a vain search for work and came home in a starving condition.

Another time a quartet of young men from Bruederfeld—Adolph Drebert, Christian Seutter, Fred and Gus Henkelmann—decided to try the south country also. At Otoskwan, a little siding some twelve miles south of Edmonton, they boarded a coal car. They paid the brakeman fifty cents each, and for this tip he allowed them to ride all the way to Calgary. In Calgary they heard about the coal mines near Lethbridge, and they thought they might get work there. But they had to walk to Lethbridge, a distance of ninety miles. They went out to one of the mines, looked down the shaft and, as Seutter told me, were frightened at the thought of going down into the bowels of the earth. They preferred to explore the possibility of finding work on the surface of the earth.

So they returned to the city of Calgary and visited the railroad yards, intending to catch a ride on a freight train heading east. But a young policeman caught them while attempting to enter an empty boxcar and, by a clever ruse, persuaded them to accompany him to the barracks where they were jailed for the night. At their hearing the next morning the magistrate was so impressed with the honest intentions of the men, who in their great need sought to find work, that he made arrangements with the C. P. R. to allow them to travel east; he even wished them a safe journey and saw to it that they got some lunch for the trip.

After traveling some 260 miles the four men came to a place in Assiniboia, where section hands were needed, and so they took a job with the C. P. R. Later they worked for some sheep ranchers in the area and remained about a year and a half.

Before closing this chapter on efforts at earning a livelihood, one specially unique narrative deserves recounting. It is the story of one of the Bruederheimers, Adolph Schultz, who decided to go gold-washing with several non-Moravian neighbors.

Schultz put his last $4.00 into the pool, the money being used for grub-staking and for a few other necessary supplies and equipment. They went up the Saskatchewan River several days' journey, enduring many hardships and dangers. High water interfered with their operations. Their "grizzly" for washing and screening the gold-bearing sand proved very defective. They finally got a few lumps of gold amalgam for which they thought they ought to get fifteen to twenty dollars, but the buyer in Edmonton gave them only $8.00 for it. The party had been gone a month, worked hard, suffered much and now got $2.00 each with a little powder, after investing $4.00 apiece.

In the case of Adolph Schultz the worst was yet to come. He had felt anxious about his family for some time. How had they fared while he was absent? When he was within a few miles of his home he stopped at a farm house and was given something to eat. The people casually dropped a remark about some German family some miles farther on that had had some sad experience. They could not tell the name, but Schultz feared the worst. He pushed on to his place. The first glimpse he had of his wife, as she walked out in the farm yard, revealed the sad, haggard countenance of a woman who had gone through sorrow and trials. The truth was soon revealed. While he was gone, all his children had been sick; two had died. Only the kindness of some neighbors had helped the stricken family over the dark days. An English Methodist minister had conducted the funerals, reading a short passage from their German Bible and performing the last sad rites as best he could. A sorrowful home-coming, if ever there was one!

Adolph Schultz was quite musical and led the Bruederheim band for many years. He attained a ripe old age and went to his eternal rest after having served the congregation faithfully and well. Of him it can be truly said: "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Psalm 126:5

CHAPTER IX.

Tragedy and Comedy of Travel

Living a considerable distance from Edmonton, the chief market in the district, our Moravians, especially those in Bruederheim, had a long way to go to market their produce. In the winter time such a trip was fraught with real hardships. The first year or two many had to travel by ox team. They would spend one night on the trail each way, as well as a night or two in town. Such a trip generally consumed just about a full week. They had to sleep outdoors, summer or winter, and ate mostly cold food, with some tea brewed over a fire beside the trail. At night they bundled up in their heavy fur coats and crept under the hay which they had to take along for their oxen or horses. Some of these outfits came from even beyond Bruederheim, and as weather conditions were unpredictable in those days, when meteorological forecasts were not made, it frequently happened that the travelers encountered stormy and bitterly cold weather.

An occasional dog-team, transporting mail to and from Hudson Bay posts far to the north, would be met with on the Victoria trail. The sledges were generally drawn by six or eight dogs, the driver mostly trotting along behind.

The Hay Lakes country furnished a number of travel stories. A typical one was related to me by an American woman of culture and refinement. Her name was Broadhead and, though her story may sound a bit exaggerated to the unitiated, I can vouch for the truth of the incident, for I have seen similar things happen and even went through them myself. Said lady originally came from New York City, but had gone out to the Pacific Coast quite some years ago; from California she had now come to Hay Lakes, Alberta, to visit a son who had taken up a homestead in that area.

One Sunday morning, according to Mrs. Broadhead's story, she and her two grandchildren, a grown-up girl and a fifteen-year-old boy, set out in a buggy, drawn by a pony, to visit some other English-speaking people about six miles away. Through some error in judgment they became mired in a slough which they tried to cross. They got deeper and deeper into the soft muck until their pony could get no further. There was nothing for them to do, but to leap out into the water, dressed in their

Sunday best as they were, and unhitch their pony. To do this, the two grandchildren had to reach into the water to detach the tugs from the single-tree. Thereupon all three laboriously waded to higher ground, where they held a solemn conclave as to what to do next. Their plight indeed was desperate. Their dripping garments were clinging to them. They were still a good mile from their destination. They could not go home, because it was too far to walk back, and their buggy was still out in the slough, hopelessly fast.

Eventually they went on to the English settlers where every attention was shown them. They were given dry clothes, their buggy was salvaged, and they spent an interesting day at the home of their friends, probably saying uncomplimentary things about Alberta, after which they returned to the homestead by a safer route.

I admit, the New Sarepta trails were notoriously bad for a long time. As late as 1948, Bishop Shawe, when he got stuck in a mudhole on his way from the church to Cooking Lake, says that the roads reminded him of those in Africa. In the summer of 1908 road conditions to and around New Sarepta became notoriously bad. Some of our people at times were in serious danger. A certain family, composed of father and mother and two small children, upset with their "democrat" at a treacherous place and were thrown bodily into the mire, with the conveyance partly on top of them. Only by a miracle were they able to extricate themselves.

One of the settlers in that country, not a member, lost a horse by drowning in what we came to call Fish Creek. When that creek was swollen by continuous rain it looked like a raging torrent. With heavy horses and a big lumber wagon, the wayfarer might hope to get through Fish Creek. But to try to cross it with a single horse and a light buggy would be as much as a man's life was worth. I feel that I was providentially saved from what might have resulted in disaster, had not my horse become lame one Saturday morning when I should have set out for New Sarepta to fill my regular Sunday appointment and Fish Creek was in flood.

The significant experience of Mrs. W. C. Schattschneider should be inserted here. She came to Alberta as a bride soon after the turn of the century and had to make the trip from Heimtal to Bruederheim at a time when road conditions were

at their worst. The trip by day was a veritable nightmare, but the first night which she spent in her new home was another nightmare, for in her dreams she seemed to be going through all the experiences of the previous day. Again and again she cried out in her fitful slumbers: "Oh, Will, look out! There is another awful mudhole on this side!"

When I first came to this country, I admit I was very much of a tenderfoot in many respects. But there is one thing I can say without boasting (for it was altogether God's gracious gift) and that is that I soon discovered I could take anything the climate had to offer. The bitterest cold of winter never bothered me. I must have been something of an Eskimo, for I never suffered from low temperatures and never got any frostbites. This fact gave rise to a comment once made by John Schwager in Saskatchewan: "Hoyler is a tough fellow."

As for summer discomforts, apart from the execrable roads which never did me any real bodily harm, mosquitoes were considered the chief affliction. But even these did not bother me. I never had recourse to wearing mosquito-nets, a practice which many followed. The prairie country around Dundurn, Saskatchewan, was the worst place for these pests. When we first moved there, there were no automobiles among the farmers, but they had fast horses for their open buggies. And they drove fast, so fast that the mosquitoes could not keep up with them, even when the wind bore them along.

On the day when the Dundurn people gave us a public open-air reception, at which the village band played, the mosquitoes had a gala time. They pestered the players, who had to slap at their hands and faces between notes. The speakers also were attacked viciously, but one of them, who succeeded me, remarked that he thought I must be a Christian Scientist. Although the insects swarmed all about my head and must have bitten me as mercilessly as the rest, I never brushed them away, thus proving, as he thought, that I did not believe in the reality of mosquito bites.

There was one defect that I noticed several times, however. My sense of direction was not always dependable. Coming as I did from the metropolitan area of New York City, the wide-open spaces of Western Canada, interspersed with occasional timbered areas, all looking more or less alike, confused me more

than once. It was largely a trackless country. What trails there were, were sometimes faint. No sign posts existed anywhere, and no marked highways. More than once I was lost, especially during the first winter or two, as I followed tracks that looked well-worn and promising at first, but eventually led into deep woods, out of which some homesteader was hauling his building logs.

When spring-time came there was new confusion. With the disappearance of the snow, the scenery changed. Winter landmarks were obliterated. During winter we had traveled across sloughs and over lakes. Now these shortcuts were abandoned, and I often was puzzled as to which of several tracks would lead me to my destination. One change that followed the coming of my first Canadian spring, in 1896, was the opening of the Saskatchewan River, which made it necessary to travel on the south side all the way between Bruederfeld and Bruederheim. In later years there were excellent roads through that back country, so that you could easily travel between these two main congregations without touching either Edmonton or Fort Saskatchewan, but originally there was only one convenient route and that took you across the river twice, both at Edmonton and at the Fort.

When I made the last trip before the break-up in the spring of 1896, I found that a lot of water had collected on top of the ice along the shore. Out in the middle of the stream the ice was still perfectly solid. I was using my buggy for the first time for my Bruederheim trip. To reach my destination I simply had to cross the river on the ice. That meant that my horse must first wade through a wide belt of icy water between the shore and the middle of the river. I had no idea whether there would be a sudden drop into the water and then a sudden rise to the solid ice beyond. When I got to the bottom of the hill leading down to the water's edge, my horse eyed the swiftly flowing water suspiciously. It evidently was afraid to venture in. I was at my wit's end. There was no other team in sight, so that I could have seen how they did it or how they fared. Fortunately a half-breed came along. He spoke some English. He finally agreed, for a quarter, to take my horse by the bridle and lead him through the frigid water to the solid ice beyond. He did not take off his shoes or roll up his trousers—he just walked in without so much as a shiver, though the water came up to his knees, and bade me a stolid farewell.

One of the most memorable trips I made is the one I undertook around the Beaver Hills in the fall of 1897. It was noteworthy for two reasons: it was the longest horse-and-buggy-trip I ever made, both as a whole and so far as the final day was concerned, when I covered fully sixty miles; and it was remarkable because on that day I did not see or meet a single human being. There were a number of other interesting sidelights throughout that trip, comic and tragic, historic and geographic, scientific and cultural. It still lingers in my memory as an experience that brought home to me the delight of living on the very fringe of civilization, if not just a bit beyond the pale thereof.

When I think of comedy and tragedy of travel, the old Hay Lake trail still looms large in my recollections. I made some hair-raising experiences traversing it. Often my buggy got caught in hidden roots beneath the water and mud. Shafts were broken, single-trees snapped, tugs were torn and a spring was broken—all on one of my trips. One day I decided to keep count of all the mudholes I negotiated on the way from Bruederfeld to New Sarepta. I did not bother about harmless little puddles, but counted only real humdingers. There were 175 of them, some being of the hair-raising, breath-taking variety. Some of our people fared just as badly as they traveled over the Hay Lake trail. Ludwig Riewe once was skirting along the edge of a slough, which he tried to encircle instead of driving straight through. But the right wheel dropped into a deep depression, while the left wheel remained on higher ground, with the result that his wife was thrown off into the mud, and the heavy wagon almost fell on top of her. Mr. Riewe's watch was thrown out of his pocket at the same time, and so far as I know was never recovered.

During those early years I was always glad when winter came, for then at least there were no bottomless mudholes to flounder through, though drifted roads were bad enough, too. That trail to New Sarepta was shortened considerably in the winter time, when we used to cut across lakes and meadows that were impassable in summer. Lake travel usually was a pleasure, except when the snowdrifts blocked passage. Once I did not get to New Sarepta for an appointment on account of bad snowdrifts. I used to have the reputation of always meeting my engagements. According to report one of the New Sarepta brethren once said:

"Wenn der Bruder Hoyler sagt, dass er kommt, dann kommt er." But on this occasion I had to turn around. With my light cutter and single driver I simply could not buck the drifts and I had to give up the attempt to proceed. The driven snow was not hard enough to bear the cutter and its occupant on top, and when I broke through, probably with one runner only, my position became so precarious that I feared disaster. With great difficulty I got the outfit headed back homeward again. In fact, I had to unhitch the horse, pull the sleigh up and out of the drift and face it in the opposite direction. I dragged it to a place where there was no drift, hitched the horse to my cutter and got back safely to the Bruederfeld parsonage. I had gotten only a mile and a half from home, but it was fully two hours before I got back. I felt chagrined because I had been licked by the weather.

It so happened that Brother Albrecht of Bruederheim was at Bruederfeld at the time (for it was during our Week of Prayer) and when he saw that the snow and the weather had gotten the better of me, he felt that the event was worthy of a celebration. So he later bought me a book on "Physical Geography" and inscribed it as follows: "A Remembrance of the Day when the Physical Geography was such that you could not go to New Sarepta. Jan. 23, 1907. From Charles A. Albrecht." I still have the book in my library. I highly esteemed Brother Albrecht for his sterling qualities and fine sense of humor; he was suddenly called to his eternal reward the day before Memorial Day, 1931, at Waconia, Minnesota. His death caused the first break in the trio of Alberta ministers, who with their wives labored together for so many years in Canada.

Today road conditions are vastly better than they were in the closing years of the last century or during the first decade of the twentieth. Only now people want to travel by car and that often won't go.

CHAPTER X.

Disappointments and Discouragements

There have been some grievous disappointments in our work in Canada. Sad experiences have not been wanting. The very first confirmand in Alberta was convicted of complicity in the robbery and the burning of the store of William Leslie, a good friend of our people, whose ranch house was situated on Spring Creek just across from where the Bruederheim Church and parsonage were located.

As just stated, Leslie had later gone into the store business, and one night during the pastorate of the Rev. C. A. Albrecht the store was burned down and the charred body of Mr. Leslie was afterwards discovered in the ruins. A postmortem examination revealed that he had first been murdered and that the building was evidently set on fire to cover up the greater crime. Though two men were suspected, the murder was never cleared up—one instance where the famous North-west Mounted Police did not "get their man." While no stain remained on the good name of our Bruederheim congregation, nevertheless the tragedy dealt something of a blow to the settlement as such, because Leslie had befriended the earliest arrivals and was highly thought of by all of us ministers who got to know him.

To offset the foregoing incident, it might be mentioned that my first confirmand in Bruederfeld, Samuel Job, became a trusted policeman in the city of Calgary, and so far as I know remained a faithful guardian of the law. I have a distinct recollection of that first confirmation on "The Reserve." We had moved our services out of the Stolz house and were meeting on the airy threshing floor of the large hay and grain barn, fragrant with the sweet-smelling meadow hay that had already been stored there for the following winter's use.

Samuel Job was the oldest of the class. He was a large, powerfully built youth. I have every reason to believe that he had given his heart to Jesus. He was deeply moved when I laid my hands upon his head in blessing. He remained a loyal helper in my work among the young people and a faithful attendant in my wife's Bible Class. While on the police force in Calgary, he roomed at the parsonage; our minister there, E. Suemper, always spoke well of him.

But to return to the disappointments referred to in the head-

ing of this chapter! The first serious defection that occurred among the ranks of our Alberta Moravians was instigated by a one-time leader of the Volhynian emigrants. He undoubtedly had hoped to become a full-fledged Moravian minister, yet the officers of the Bruederheim congregation protested vigorously against his serving in any capacity other than that of an elder. He and his following then proceeded to establish a rival Protestant Church among the settlers.

A more serious threat, for a while, was the strange stir which a colored representative of the "Church of God" created. He had been working in Edmonton, I believe, and in some way a couple of our Bruederheimers got to hear him and induced him to start up a branch in Bruederheim. Two or three of our families, of whom I would have expected better things, became enamored of him and his ways. Our quiet Moravian ways seemed too tame for them, and they threw themselves enthusiastically behind the colored brother's efforts. In fact one of his ardent "converts" predicted to our good brother Eichelt, G. Werner's father-in-law, a man of solid spiritual understanding and a true lover of our Church, the following dire result as a consequence of the negro's propaganda: "Your Church (meaning the Moravian) will lose all the good wheat, and only the chaff will remain." "Oh, no, you foolish man," retorted Brother Eichelt, "it's the chaff that is blown away; the good wheat remains."

And so it proved. The negro's cause eventually failed. While he had built a little chapel in the village and had also picked up a few non-Moravian adherents, his original supporters did not stick; one family moved to the States, another scattered to the four winds, the older ones died and the children and children's children are back in the fold. Our Bruederheim congregation has had several blessed revivals and the deeper aspirations of the membership are fully satisfied.

Pentecostalism also tried to gain a foothold, but with no success. An ardent Baptist preacher preached in a private house a couple of times, but soon saw the futility of his efforts. All these attempts to disturb our work redounded to the blessing of our cause in the end.

Bruederfeld has also suffered somewhat from withdrawals, but these were largely to her credit. Many members of this congregation were transferred to other settlements and thus helped to establish new congregations. Such was the case especially with

regard to New Sarepta, Bruce and Hobbema, as well as Edmonton. But unfortunately some other denominations also were responsible by interfering unnecessarily with our work. Their cause never prospered especially, but they did disturb our work to some extent.

Calgary has likewise experienced some disturbances. The first occurred in Brother Suemper's time, when the principle of local self-government, borrowed from Congregationalism, caused a mild revolt against the policy of the Moravian Church, which has always stood for a strong, centralized, unified brotherhood—world-wide, Province-wide, District-wide. Quite distinct from this trend, though in part growing out of it, was the unfortunate experience made in connection with the move from the original site of our Calgary Church to a new location on a commanding eminence on the other side of the Bow River. The congregation wished us to sell the old property, for which they had received an offer of $70,000.00, and to erect a new church on that beautiful site. I had bought the old site, only a few blocks from the heart of the city, for $800.00 in 1902, and we built a neat little chapel on it for $700.00. Our District Executive Board endeavored to handle the situation conservatively, but Calgary was booming at that time, and the congregation was enthusiastic about the prospect of great expansion in that new suburban part of the city. The purchaser of the old property made a substantial down-payment and seemed perfectly good for the remaining installments; so a contract was let for a $40,000.00 brick church and a handsome brick parsonage.

Then the world war broke out, and the bottom dropped out of everything. The purchaser defaulted on his further payments. Meanwhile the congregation had borrowed $12,000.00 from a certain German to complete the construction of the new plant, pending the payment of the remaining installments on the old property. He now pressed for the repayment of his loan, which had become due. In the end the Provincial Elders Conference secured a loan of $20,000.00 from the E. P. Wilbur Trust Company in Bethlehem to straighten out the Calgary finances and complete the church. Two of the ministers who served Calgary about that time, also became involved in the financial transactions. The Board of Church Extension repaid the Wilbur Trust Company, but I do not think the other creditors ever got all their money back. When, years later, the magnificent property

atop the hill was exchanged for a church and parsonage a few blocks farther down, which had only a modest value, the difference accrued to the benefit of the Board of Church Extension, who thus could reimburse themselves.

The whole Calgary trouble weighed heavily on the Canadian District Executive Board and constitutes one of the trials and disappointments that we passed through in our work. The congregation presented various problems from time to time, but I want to go on record on behalf of its membership that there always were many sincere and earnest Christians among our people, and some valuable candidates for the ministry and missionary work of the Church were contributed by the congregation.

Other disappointments sometimes oppressed me. One was the difficulty we experienced in securing suitable ministers for our work. There was a time when the Canadian work attracted young men, who could handle the German language. I remember how Arthur R. Schultz once declared that he would not exchange his congregation for any in the Province, and even a member of Provincial Elders' Conference, when on an official visit, stated that if he were a young man he would be glad to serve in Canada. For myself, I can say that I always felt grateful for the privilege of spending thirty of my best years in the Canadian West. If it had not been for the fact that certain atmospheric and physical conditions affected my wife's health adversely, I would not have asked to be transferred to the Western District.

When bi-lingual men became fewer in the ranks of our ministry it grew increasingly difficult to get men to accept a call to Canada, where they had to use the German. Sometimes we were able to solve our problems by importing men from Germany, like Herman Schulze, Johannes Fliegel and Alfred Weiss. Sometimes we secured men from other denominations like Happel, Anhorn, and Heuer, or made use of temporary supplies like Bahnmann, Schimpke and Ewald. Even our own Canadian born and bred men seem to prefer service in the States. This may be due in part to the fact that they fear a prophet will be without honor in his own country. Salaries, too, are more attractive in the States than they are in Canada, and that has caused us some disappointments.

CHAPTER XI.

Sunshine After Shadow

The Province of Alberta has come to be spoken of very generally as "Sunny Alberta." The designation is well-deserved. It enjoys an unusually high percentage of sunshine. However, the great amount of strong, glaring sunlight, with its concomitant condition of dryness of atmosphere, causes discomfort to some people, especially during the summer months, when there is so little absolute darkness.

Occasionally I would sing the old popular melody, "Immer heiter, immer froehlich, Alle Tage Sonnenschein," and then my wife would comment: "Yes, that is just the trouble, so far as I am concerned; there is too much sunshine, with its resultant dryness of the air." She always felt best in rainy weather and on wash-days, when there was plenty of moisture in the air she breathed.

Well, even "Sunny Alberta" could have her rainy spells, times when it rained so constantly and copiously that farmers almost despaired of getting their field work done. Then roads became impassable, bridges were swept away, and people became hopelessly mired even on important arteries of communication. More than once I spent three hours on the way from Bruederfeld to South Edmonton, a distance of scarcely eight miles. About half a mile west of the Bruederfeld parsonage a bit of road began which often was one of the most execrable stretches I had to traverse. Along the road allowance a wet-weather stream meandered. It drained a meadow or marsh on the Riemer quarter section and often half submerged the roadway, where vehicles were meant to travel between the adjoining fences. At the intersection of road-allowances one mile west of the church this meandering stream formed a deep morass right in the corner where the Sandy Lake trail came in and joined our Hay Lakes trail. Late one summer night, as I was returning from town, I noticed that a horse had foundered in that morass close to the "road." It was lying helpless in the mud and water and evidently was unable to regain its feet. It seemed totally exhausted from its futile struggles.

I decided to go back toward town a mile or more and to secure the help of Gottfried Henkelmann in trying to rescue the

poor animal from its predicament. He had already retired, but he got up and accompanied me to the crossing. Together, with the help of ropes, we tried to get the animal on its feet, but all our efforts were in vain. We finally had to leave the horse to its fate and it died that very night. A few days later countless maggots were feasting on the putrid flesh, but it was days before they could finish their job and put an end to the unbearable stench. A few years later the wicked spot was put in order; an adequate bridge was installed at the intersection where the Sandy Lake trail crossed the one-time meandering stream. Today the wayfarer would not believe that any stray horse could have foundered in that location, even in rainy weather.

They tell the story of an American land-seeker, who, lured to the Edmonton District by this very slogan, "Sunny Alberta," had come to look the country over, ready to establish his home in the Canadian promised land. But it so happened that when he arrived in Edmonton he encountered one of those unbroken rainy spells. Day after day, for over a week, there was an incessant downpour of rain. The man did not so much as get a glimpse of the sun the entire time he was at Edmonton, and ultimately in utter disgust he returned to the States. "Sunny Alberta," indeed! He probably went back and told his neighbors down in Iowa: "Why, those Edmonton people don't even know what the sun looks like!"

Our people in Alberta experienced such dark days, too, from time to time, both literally and figuratively, but undeterred by clouds and shadows they decided to stay on. In fact, they could scarcely do otherwise. It was impossible for them to return to Volhynia. Nor did they have the means to move elsewhere in the hope that fortune might smile upon them in other places. So they remained, and sooner or later they were rewarded. The sunshine of God's favor beamed upon them. The clouds lifted and hope returned. A better day began to dawn: "Sunshine after Shadow," joyous reaping after tearful sowing!

We ministers rejoiced with our people when they were gladdened by abundant harvests, safely garnered in. We were happy to see them rewarded so bountifully for their heavy toil, but we were also concerned lest with growing prosperity they should forget God. This is what the Rev. Abraham Hager, a Swiss Baptist minister once said in a public address delivered in the Bruederfeld church: "I do not fear for you while you are

passing through hardships. The real danger will come when wealth will fall to your lot."

It was interesting to note the gradual material advancement of the people: larger fields and bigger harvests; modern farm machinery and the latest equipment for up-to-date agricultural methods; better homes and richer household furnishings; larger barns and convenient out-buildings; comfortable two-seated top-buggies and finally expensive automobiles; modern conveniences in their farm-homes. What a change from the original ox-teams and heavy lumber-wagons, rude log houses and primitive mode of living! Prosperity did indeed come. A few may have been swept into the current of materialism, but by and large it may be said after more than fifty years, much of the early simplicity of faith and godliness of life has been retained even unto the third and fourth generation. The finer, spiritual qualities have not been lost; the attachment to God's house has not ceased; the liberal support of missions and other church enterprises has not waned; the new generation of young people are still imbued with interest in God's work; the increasing number of young men offering for the ministry and missionary service—all this and much more betokens an undiminished purpose to continue promoting vital Christianity and building the kingdom of God.

Widespread revivals were experienced during the earlier years; similar experiences are not uncommon down to the very present. May God grant that with the passing of time true spirituality may continue to mark the work of the Canadian District. Encroaching worldliness, so widely noted elsewhere, may not leave our Canadian congregations entirely unscathed, yet it is to be hoped that the fires of genuine love for God and His Word may never die out among the children and children's children of the early pioneers, whose sturdy faith and rugged Christianity laid a deep and strong foundation in those first years of hardship and trial.

There is a brighter lustre in the life of a congregation than mere temporal prosperity. There is a more glorious light in the soul of men than the mere brightening of earthly prospects. And so we hope that the fleeing of the early shadows in Alberta and the entire Canadian District may be followed all through the coming years by an increasingly marked effusion of the divine light, so that many souls may learn to sing:

"There is sunshine in my soul today,
More glorious and bright
Than glows in any earthly sky,
For Jesus is my light.

CHORUS: Oh, there's sunshine, Blessed sunshine,
While the peaceful, happy moments roll;
When Jesus shows His smiling face,
There is sunshine in my soul."

CHAPTER XII.

Spiritual Harvests

From time to time the Lord granted us special seasons of ingathering of precious souls, who experienced the power of saving grace, in fulfillment of His promise that His Word should not return unto Him void. I remember a number of these periods during the thirty years of my ministry in Canada, and there have been others during the subsequent days even unto the present time.

Throughout the year 1904 things began to happen in Bruederfeld, which presaged the coming of refreshing rains—showers of blessing from on high. Inquirers began to call at the parsonage, seeking spiritual counsel and comfort for burdened hearts. Young people's work took on a new aspect, with helpful meetings during the week and a Bible class of forty or fifty on Sunday, taught by Mrs. Hoyler. The midweek services grew in interest and attendance, so much so that additional prayer meetings began to be held in the homes of the people, especially in outlying sections to the south and southeast of the church.

Looking back over the intervening years, I now feel that it was at these neighborhood meetings that the great revival of 1905 had its birth and real inception. They were held in humble, primitive log cabins, erected by the hardy pioneers during their early struggles. The Holy Spirit could work without restraint amid such surroundings, where temporal interests did not divert attention all too much from the things of eternity. So it was but natural that people should begin to feel a genuine desire for a fuller and richer life in God. Some of them, indeed, began to realize in a very poignant way their lost condition, and earnestly sought their salvation. Before long these "cottage" prayer

meetings took on the character of out and out revival meetings, according to the best traditions of Moravian evangelism.

In December, 1904, an entire week of services was arranged for in various homes on the outskirts of the settlement, some of the homes being those of non-members. The Rev. G. Henkelmann and I took turns in conducting these meetings, which ultimately resulted in several definite conversions. I will mention one such case, which grew out of these meetings, though the climax did not come until some time after 1904.

One Sunday morning during Lent I was aroused from my sleep by a loud knock at our front door. It was still quite dark—about 3:30 A.M. I hastened downstairs to let my early caller in. I found a young married man at the door, who earnestly begged me to come to his log hut on the southern border of the colony, in order that I might administer Holy Communion to his sick wife.

When I arrived at the home, I soon forgot about her illness, serious though it may have been, because I learned to my great joy that she had at last found the peace of heart and soul for which she had been praying so long. This fact overshadowed everything else. The sacrament, of which the three of us partook that early Sunday morning in the solemn quiet of a humble home where Jesus dwelt, still lives very vividly in my memory. After further happy converse, I bade the young couple goodbye and hastened back to my home to finish my preparations for the morning service. Before I began my sermon I told the congregation about my experience that morning. A deep impression was made on the audience. I believe God spoke to more than one person that morning.

The fire that had been kindled in the outlying woods of Bruederfeld began to spread. Strange to say, the flames first reached the city of Strathcona, where a new work had been launched only a few weeks earlier in a one-time pump-shop that we had bought from the German Baptists, who had converted it into a chapel.

Concerning the Strathcona meetings, the Bruederfeld diary records that during the closing days of 1904 "times of refreshing from the Lord" were experienced. I can still recall some of the incidents, including the prayers of a certain Lithuanian, who came to the meetings, but especially the striking experience of a young girl, whose godly mother had been praying for her

and who now had the joy of seeing her only child Emilie find peace and pardon at one of the Strathcona meetings.

On the 9th of January, 1905, special evangelistic services were begun in the Bruederfeld church. The very first night it became apparent that God intended to manifest Himself to us. From evening to evening the interest grew. People heard what the Lord had done on the southern fringe of the parish and in the city of Strathcona. They expected equally great things in their own church. So they came in large numbers on foot and by bob-sled. Some walked four and five miles even in bitter cold weather. The services sometimes lasted from two to three hours without a dull moment. There was no excitement, but just a deep, earnest spirit. We ministers always helped each other out at these meetings, and so there were generally two short addresses. The Brethren G. Henkelmann, C. A. Albrecht and E. Suemper in turn rendered valuable assistance. We all preached the atonement, the necessity of the new birth, and the readiness of the Saviour to receive sinful men. There was a lot of hearty singing, with and without hymnbooks.

Opportunity was given for voluntary prayer. As many as twenty to thirty availed themselves of this privilege each night. Young and old participated. There were many broken, halting prayers, which betokened deep spiritual anxiety. Others struck a note of joy and praise. We did not ask people to raise their hand or stand up or come forward to a mourner's bench. We simply invited them to pour out their hearts in prayer directly to God, as we all lay upon our knees before the throne of grace. We recognized the voices of those who prayed, and singled them out for interviews after the meeting or—and this was the usual method—we visited them in their homes the next morning and dealt with them personally in the quiet of their own abode.

About the third night after the meetings began in Bruederfeld, we had the joy of hearing the first notes of praise and thanksgiving for peace and pardon received. Thereafter these testimonies increased almost nightly. A wave of spiritual power swept through the congregation, gripping particularly many of the young people. One of the evenings was set apart especially for them, although everybody was welcome to attend that youth meeting. The church was crowded. There were many young people in Bruederfeld in those days. That night I think they were all in church. The address was on the words: "The Master is

come and calleth for thee.'' Many took part in prayer that night. And such prayers! Prayers mostly by the young men and the young women in the audience.

A second youth meeting was arranged for the following Sunday night. This time it was announced that no married people or older adults should attend, although, as I remember, one or two did manage to get in and were sitting in a dark corner away back in the gallery. The Bruederfeld diary, under date of January 15, 1905, contains this entry: ''It was an exceedingly solemn service . . . Never before have I witnessed such gripping and impressive scenes. I truly believe that a lasting blessing will result. God grant it!''

And God did grant it. Years later, and even in 1944, 1945 and 1946, when I was privileged to visit Alberta, the fruits of the revival among the young people of Bruederfeld and neighboring congregations were in evidence on all sides.

But the spiritual movement of that memorable January, 1905, was not yet at an end. For three solid months, almost nightly meetings were held in Bruederfeld, while in the meantime similar scenes were being enacted in other congregations. For a while the meetings were transferred to private homes in various sections of the parish, especially during my absence while I assisted with evangelistic services elsewhere. These neighborhood services were conducted by the elders and others, but the attendance became so large that none of the modest homes of those days could accommodate the people. So, on February 18, 1905, it was decided to return to the church. That evening the prayer meeting was attended by 175 people, a truly large audience for those times.

The fires of revival blazed up afresh. More people than ever took part in prayer. As many as forty different voices could be heard some nights. In consequence of this renewed outpouring of the spirit of prayer, more and more pastoral calls had to be made. The strength of the Alberta ministers began to flag. It was deemed necessary to call for outside help. An invitation was extended to the Rev. Henry Richter, then pastor at Goshen, North Dakota, to come to Alberta and to help draw in the Gospel net. He arrived on the 10th of March. God graciously crowned his labors with success. His fresh and vigorous testimony struck deeply into the hearts of the people. He had a very effective way of dealing with inquirers, as we went from home to home during the day. He

spent three weeks with us, assisting in Bruederfeld, Heimtal, Strathcona, Bruederheim and New Sarepta. His work was particularly fruitful among young people. In later years he often spoke of his Canadian experiences; in fact he subsequently paid a return visit to Alberta for a second evangelistic campaign, especially in Calgary.

While many of the results of the 1905 revival were noticeable among young people, it must not be supposed that the older ones were left uninfluenced. Many of them were blessedly affected. I recall one elderly couple who had lived in a part of Volhynia where Moravian *diaspora* workers had not operated, and who had not, like others, been grounded in the faith before coming to Canada. Almost simultaneously these dear elderly people, Mr. and Mrs. Ott, made definite experience of saving grace. The good brother found the Saviour out in his farmyard, while we were standing together beside my cutter, talking about the one thing needful. His wife, an unusually gentle and kindly soul, made the same experience shortly thereafter. I can still hear her joyous prayer of thanksgiving, mingled with an undertone of regret that she had learned to love the Lord so late in life, quoting the touching couplet: "Es tut mir leid, ich bin betrübt, Dass ich dich hab so spät geliebt." In 1930, when I saw her for the last time during our visit in Alberta; she was near life's end, suffering from a painful and incurable disease, but calm and peaceful, quietly awaiting her summons to her eternal home.

I remember another elderly couple, who likewise found perfect peace in old age. I recall, as if it were but yesterday, how the aged sister, with tears streaming down her cheeks, confessed to me that back in Russia she had been wont to practice some form of exorcism common in that land of superstitions, but that now all was forgiven and the black past blotted out forever.

The congregation at Heimtal held its regular series of meetings right after the first round of services had been completed at Bruederfeld, of which Heimtal was a filial at that time. Similar scenes were enacted there as at the parent church. The building was filled every night, below and upstairs. I remained throughout the week, visiting by day and conducting the meetings at night. Again it was the young people who were particularly touched. The closing service on Sunday evening was devoted to them. To my surprise two big bobsleds, packed with young people from Bruederfeld, arrived just as we were about to begin the service.

Their presence and enthusiasm added to the thrill of that evening. Many earnest prayers ascended to the throne of grace. One young girl particularly offered a most ardent prayer, tearfully pleading for forgiveness and assurance. Many others followed. Suddenly this selfsame girl burst forth in prayer a second time. While we were all upon our knees, the Saviour revealed Himself to her in all His graciousness and spoke peace to her soul. So she lifted up her voice once more, but this time in thanksgiving and praise. She later became a valued member of our congregation in Vancouver.

Early in February, 1905, evangelistic meetings were begun in New Sarepta. At the time of the revival we had no church as yet. We met in the two-roomed log house of Ludwig Henkelmann. Every evening forty or more people crowded into that rude shack. In spite of its primitive appearance it became the scene of stirring events, a veritable Bethel, a house of God and a "gate to heaven" for more than one of the wilderness dwellers. The founders of New Sarepta were mostly young Bruederfelders, who could no longer obtain land in the older congregation. A few older settlers had also located there, like the aforesaid Ludwig Henkelmann and others who had not yet used their homestead rights. A congregation was formally organized in Sarepta on the first Sunday in October, 1904.

From the first, the meetings in this shack took on a most promising character, the people wending their way every night from the surrounding forest to this rendezvous with the Lord. Here, as elsewhere, prayer was given greater prominence than the sermon. After the meeting people usually remained awhile and conversed on spiritual things. One night some one suggested that we draw texts, using our Moravian Text Book for that purpose. Several persons received most fitting verses. One of the young men, for example, whose first name was Samuel (Henkelmann), drew 1 Samuel 3:10, "And the Lord came, and stood, and called as at other times, 'Samuel, Samuel.' Then Samuel answered, 'Speak Lord, for they servant heareth'." The shaft lodged in the young man's heart. He let the Saviour in. Nine months later, when he was about eighteen, the Lord took him home. He died of typhoid fever, but he had a triumphant end. His father, Ludwig Henkelmann, later, out of his meager resources, gave me $50.00 in his memory for Moravian missions.

An older brother of Samuel, Martin by name, found the Lord, as he told us that night, in the forest near his homestead. He was

looking for timber to go into the construction of the proposed church. While he was in the woods all alone, he felt the drawing influence of the Holy Spirit. He knelt in the snow and gave his heart to God. He became one of the pillars of the congregation. On July 16, 1944, after preaching to an audience of six hundred people, gathered inside and outside of the beautiful present church, I visited this brother in his nice and comfortable home near Hay Lake, Alberta. The Lord led him through much suffering during the last couple of years of his life and took him home to Himself in 1947, I believe. Last year, 1948, one of his sons Clarence, together with his wife, went to Alaska to serve there as a lay missionary.

Returning to the revival of 1905, I want to mention a very pleasant incident that happened during the week when our special services were held in New Sarepta. One evening, a certain young married woman, wife of Emil Diewert, had indicated in her prayer that she was in deep distress about her salvation. According to our custom I decided to call on her and others like her the following morning, in order, if possible, to help her. I knocked at the door. It was the young woman herself who opened the door for me, but that morning she did not even say "Good Morning" to me. As soon as she saw who her caller was she burst right out with the joyous announcement: "I have found the Saviour!" The Lord Himself had visited her the night before after she returned home from the meeting.

Space does not permit any detailed accounts of the work of grace that went on in Bruederheim and Calgary that same winter. The faithful preaching of the Brethren Albrecht and Suemper, who served those congregations at that time, resulted in blessings similar to those already recounted concerning other congregations. We must, however, revert once more to the church at Bruederfeld, to speak of a certain subsequent event that had a close connection with our earlier story.

When the month of April came around, our farmers all had to attend to their spring work, but the echoes of the great revival continued to reverberate. During the month of June the congregation observed its tenth anniversary. For weeks in advance we had made plans for an elaborate celebration which was to last for three days. We invited the Rev. Karl A. Mueller, of Watertown, Wisconsin, who was later chosen bishop, to be our special festival speaker.

One of the three days was given over to the celebration of our mission festival, the first of its kind ever to be held in Bruederfeld. One result of the revival had been increased interest in Moravian missions. The Canadian churches had decided to assume the support of their "own missionary," a new idea in those days. The Rev. Theodore Reinke, of Nicaragua, was "adopted" by the district and our offerings were to go to his support. The offering on that first mission festival in Bruederfeld was $436.00, a goodly sum for struggling settlers. But an even more gratifying evidence of the increased missionary interest was the fact that four young girls volunteered for foreign service, three from Bruederfeld and one from Heimtal. In addition to these four missionary candidates, five young men decided to enter the home ministry, four from Bruederfeld and one from Bruederheim. Of the first group, one prepared at the Moody Bible Institute (Elizabeth Schattschneider) and then served in Alaska. Two entered the Union Missionary Training Institute in Brooklyn and took the full course, but at the completion of the same neither one, to their great disappointment, could pass the rigid medical examination, required for Tibet and Alaska respectively. However, Catherine Stolz and Emma Henkelmann both became valuable workers at Bruederfeld and Bruederheim respectively, and each of them today (1949) rejoices to see a daughter in happy missionary service in Nicaragua (Mrs. John Befus and Mrs. Sam Marx). The fourth of the girls was prevented by circumstances beyond her control from carrying out her missionary plans. The four Bruederfeld boys were E. and F. Drebert, R. Riemer and A. Harke.

Continuing the anniversary festivities, we had special features on the second and third days, including a memorial service on the cemetery, a lovefeast, an early morning union prayer meeting and the chief anniversary service on the actual decennial date, June 27, at which Brother Mueller preached a great sermon that held the unflagging attention of the vast audience for an hour and a half.

That evening the climax was reached. A reunion of all the confirmands of the first ten years was held. They only were present. No other people were admitted. They were seated by classes as on the day of their confirmation. Out of the total number of seventy, only three or four were missing, having moved away. The roll was called, class by class. Each confirmand responded to the roll call by repeating the memory verse given them on the day

of their confirmation. This feature alone made a deep impression. Brother Mueller preached a heart-searching address; I followed with a few words of counsel to the young people, many of whom were rejoicing in the great change that had come over them during recent months. Then came a period of voluntary prayers and testimonies. Strong young men and earnest-faced young women were not ashamed to show their deep emotion. The following brief entry in the Bruederfeld diary tells the story: "Many of the young people were deeply moved, and numerous prayers from overflowing hearts ascended to the throne of grace. The workings of the Holy Spirit were clearly manifest. Brother Mueller stated afterwards that of all the inspiring anniversary services of the last three days the confirmands' night would remain most indelibly impressed on his memory."

Before the close of 1905 there were other echoes of the events that had transpired earlier in the year. A meeting was set for December 29, 1905, at which all those who had made an experience of salvation during the year were to have an opportunity to tell of the great things that God had wrought in their lives. We met in the school house, just west of the parsonage. The room was filled to capacity. Dozens of tender and touching testimonies were given; the hour grew late, but not nearly all had had a chance to speak. So it was decided to continue the meeting the following evening, when the school room again was filled. Other dozens added their witness. Rededications and reconsecrations marked both of these unforgettable services. Thus closed a memorable year for Bruederfeld and the other congregations in Alberta.

Four years later, namely in 1909, a revival of almost equal power swept over some of the Canadian congregations. Again it became necessary to summon outside help. This time the Rev. Edward F. Helmich, of Canaan, North Dakota, was invited. He labored with great blessing for a number of weeks, especially among the young people. I will not attempt to give details. The following letter appeared in the church paper some years ago:

"Certain memories come back to me out of my experiences while helping Brother Hoyler in 1909. Among the many incidents that occurred during the thirty-one days I spent in Canada, I will mention only two, which left a vivid impression on my mind.

"One evening, after a cold day in January, I preached on the subject: 'Where are the Nine?' I spoke on the 'Sin of Unthankfulness' and said among other things: 'There are perhaps two hundred people present here tonight. Are there not here ninety out of each hundred that fail to thank God for their daily blessings?'

"The next morning, as we went calling as usual (for Brother Hoyler had a way of putting his helpers to work), I looked at the thermometer, which registered thirty-one below zero. All day we visited, while I was shivering in my fur coat. We went from house to house, or, rather, from hut to hut, for there were few houses among the early settlers, to bring comfort and cheer.

"About 11:00 A.M. we drew near a log shack. Brother Hoyler said: 'Here lives a poor widow. Her name is Zichau. Her husband died last fall and left her with three children.' As I looked at the hovel, I could see thru the cracks between the logs. We rapped and listened. Yes, she was at home. She could not say 'Come in,' for she first had to move the door to one side, as it had no hinges. After we entered, she set it back and secured it as best she could.

"She offered me a backless chair, and Brother Hoyler, in deference to his guest, took a box for his seat. As I sat there and took in the scene, I noticed there were holes in the floor so large that I could have thrust my fur cap through them.

"As I looked at the woman, I noticed that a shy little girl was peeking out from under the mother's apron. The apron was clean, but it had patch upon patch. Behind a small pot-bellied stove sat a little boy, hugging his face, swollen with double mumps. The smell of soft-coal fumes filled the room.

"To myself I said: 'If this woman complains and is unthankful, she has a reason for such a mood.'

"I was not quite through with such thoughts, when Mrs. Zichau said: 'O brother, I couldn't sleep all night for thankfulness, after I came home from church last night. I thought of what you said about the goodness of God and His kindness to me. Last fall, when my husband died, I said: 'What will happen to me and the children, with winter now upon us?' But God has been good to us! That neighbor over there (mentioning his name) gave me this house free of rent, and that neighbor over there (pointing in his direction and giving his name) gave me a cow, so that I will have milk for the children, and others built a stable

in the side of a hill, while everybody is helping to supply me with hay for the cow. And now my oldest daughter is with a family in Strathcona, earning enough for groceries. Oh, God has been so good to us! You were right last night when you said that men are so unthankful for all of God's mercies.'

"I have used this incident in a Thanksgiving Day sermon. That woman did not know that she helped me more than I ever helped her.

"We made other visits during the rest of the day. When we got home in the evening, supper was waiting for us. I ate with chattering teeth—so cold I was. There were only a few minutes left before the second bell. I went to my room to collect my thoughts, and then the second incident occurred which I want to mention.

"I had hardly settled in my room, when there was a rap at my door. I was annoyed, but I said 'Come in!' There stood before me two sisters twenty to twenty-two years of age, with anxious looks, and holding Bibles in their hands. I said: 'What can I do for you?' They said: 'We would like to have assurance; can you help us?'

"Only five minutes time! I pointed them to Isaiah 53:5, 6. They read. I asked them: 'Do you believe that?' They said: 'Yes' 'Now read it in the first person.' Helping them a bit, they read: 'He was wounded for my transgressions, he was bruised for my iniquities; the chastisement of my peace was upon him; and with his stripes I am healed.'

"The bell began to ring. I took my Bible and cap and ran over to the church, leaving them behind.

"After the sermon opportunity was given to say a word in testimony for Christ. When the older of the girls got up, her face was beaming with joy, and she repeated in a voice strong with assurance this declaration of faith: 'He was wounded for my transgressions, he was bruised for my iniquities,' and so on to the end: 'the Lord hath laid on him my iniquity.'

"It thrilled and electrified the audience. Her witness did more than my preaching.

"There are many other things that impressed me in my stay at Bruederfeld and Bruederheim and at Calgary and at other congregations. But these two incidents must suffice. Edward F. Helmich."

During the early months of 1916 the congregations of Bruederfeld, Bruederheim and Strathcona were visited once more by a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The following year, 1917, our Provincial evangelist, the Rev. John Greenfield, conducted meetings in a number of the churches, resulting in not a few glorious conversions. We were then living in Strathcona and the congregation in town and the one out on the Reserve co-operated with special music, using our mixed quartets at both places. The personnel was composed of the following: Mrs. E. Suemper, Mrs. C. Hoyler, E. Suemper and C. Hoyler. We had learned a great many selections suitable for use at evangelistic meetings. The words were in German, translated from English and other originals. On his way back to the States Brother Greenfield also visited Dundurn. From Moose Jaw he sent me his final Canadian message before crossing the line into North Dakota at Portal:

"Y.M.C.A, Moose Jaw, Sask., Nov. 12, 1917

Dear Brother Hoyler:

Am now on my way home. Had a splendid day in Dundurn yesterday. Good services at all appointments—especially in Dundurn, where circa 70 persons were present. Have forwarded an additional $30.00 to Brother Sturgis. Am feeling well and full of gratitude to the Saviour for His many mercies. Hearty thanks to yourself and Mrs. Hoyler for all your kindness. Cordial greetings to all brethren. Yours in Him,

John Greenfield."

Bruederheim has had a number of seasons of revival from time to time. In 1920 a Methodist evangelist, who had conducted quite a successful city-wide campaign in Edmonton was invited to Bruederheim and worked there for several weeks with apparent blessing to the congregation. During the pastorates of the Rev. Mr. Anhorn and that of Elmer Stelter likewise seasons of spiritual harvest occurred. The same holds true of New Sarepta only this past winter (1948-9).

Camp Van-Es has been the scene of many stirring incidents along the line of personal experiences of saving grace and personal consecrations to the Lord and His service. A few years ago I received the following testimony from a member of the Bruederheim congregation, whom I had first met at Cooking Lake and who acknowledged a "lot" that I had drawn for her

after the conference: "I can truly say with all my heart that I have never had such joy and peace come into my heart since I accepted Jesus a few years ago as my personal Saviour, and He certainly does satisfy. I hope and pray that the beauty of Jesus may be seen in me."

Only eternity will reveal the number of sheaves gathered into the heavenly garner from the fertile fields of the Canadian District. May the Lord continue to bless the proclamation of the Gospel of reconciliation in all the years ahead "until He come."

CHAPTER XIII.

Enlarging the Field

From the very beginning it was our hope and aim to extend the work in every direction. Not only did we seek to promote immigration from the old country, but every invitation to visit localities without the Gospel was gladly accepted. This took us to many German-speaking settlements not only in Alberta but later also in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. We also ministered to Norwegian-speaking people in their own tongue and hoped some day to do something even for the Ruthenians, whose language Brother Henkelmann spoke with perfect ease. Nor did we neglect English-speaking settlers in the Canadian West and introduced preaching services in several places in that language. When, finally, some of our people began to move to the West Coast in the United States we even followed them up to Washington and Oregon, and were hopeful of establishing ourselves in Puyallup, Washington, and in Portland, Oregon. In both of these states I conducted well-attended services and celebrations of Holy Communion, but owing to a lack of men and money we could not follow up the advantage gained by our being on the ground early.

My colleagues, especially C. A. Gutensohn and later S. Wedman, were ever on the alert to enter prospective openings, so that in the course of the past fifty-five years (1894 to 1949) a total of eighty-one preaching places were started. Some of them resulted in the organization of congregations, others gave high promise for awhile, services being attended by from fifty to seventy-five people, many of whom would have become charter members. In addition to the two district presidents mentioned

above much credit for church extension also must go to the Brethren H. Schulze, A. R. Schultz, E. Suemper, G. Henkelmann and C. A. Albrecht, who were some of the earlier ministers.

I will now attempt to give a fairly complete list of places visited through the years by many of the ministers. No doubt others should be included.

ALBERTA

*†Bruederfeld
*†Bruederheim
*†Heimtal
†Mayflower (J. Sampert)
Martins (Reformed Ch.)
*†Hobbema
(Homes, School, Church)
†Flatbush (J. Stockmann)
Fawcett (P. Elgert)
* Westlock (Homes, School)
Barrhead (A. Werner)
Mellowdale (P. Grende)
†Glendon (E. Wolgien)
*†Bruederheim
(W. Schultz, Church)
†Spring Creek (Bhm, Eng)
†Beaver Hills (Guenther)
†Beaver Hills (Schneider)
Good Hope (Fred Helm)
Myrnam (Gus Radtke)
†Limestone Lake (Norw.)
(School)
†South Bruederfeld
(Christian Seutter, etc.)
†Wimbledon (Presb. Church)
*†Heimtal (Klapstein, Ch.)
†W. Heimtal (Wedman)
†White Mud (Eng., School)
†Sprucedale
Thorsby (Breier; Wegner)
†West Leduc
*†Edmonton South (Church)
*†Edmonton, Norwood (Ch'h)
*†New Sarepta (Henkelm., Ch)
†Hay Lake (Eng. School)
Rosedale (Eld. Plitt)
†Morinville (Homes: Makus)
†Stoney Plain (Wudel)
†Wainwright (Dreger, etc.)
*†Calgary (Homes, Church)
†De Winton (Kniss)
†Carseland (P. Dick)
Aldersyde (P. Gerlitz)
†Wimbledon (Ludw. Fenske)
†Cooking Lake (Brown)
*†Bruce (Minshau, Grende)
Ogden (J. Hergenhain)
* Champion (School)
*†Didsbury (Homes; Church)
*†Eigenheim (Church)
Torrington
Trochu
Beisecker
†Medicine Hat (L. Stelter)
†Seven Persons (Home)
†Dunmore (Pols)
†Irwin (F. Stelter)
†Josephsburg (Home)
†Newburg (L. Stelter)
†Bardo (Norw.; School)

SASKATCHEWAN (Mostly English)

*†Dundurn (School; Church)
*†Pleasant Point (Ho., Ch)
†Swift Current
†Eston (C. Hoffman)
†Haultain (Heimbecker)
*†Watrous (Hall)
*†Rosthern (Riekman)
*†Esk (Teske; Church)
Bunch (S. of Piapot, Wildemann)
Ridgedale (R. Wildeman)
†Biggar
†Lanigan
Wall Lake
Elvavow

MANITOBA

†Winnipeg (Jaeger)
†Elie (Piper)
†Coulter (Scheel)
†Cabot

BRITISH COLUMBIA

*†Vancouver (Homes; Church)
*†Rosedale
Pitt Meadows
Agassiz (Cheknowski)
White Rock (Kopp; Hall; School)
McBride (Home)
New Westminster

UNITED STATES

†Portland, Ore. and †Puyallup, Wash.

(KEY: *Organized; †Served by C. Hoyler)

As I scan the foregoing list of places served, I realize that they represent much labor on the part of the ministers which seemingly did not bear fruit, because so few organized congregations resulted from the effort. And yet, speaking from my own experience, I am convinced that it was in these smaller gatherings and in the homes of individual Moravians that some of the most effective home mission work was done, because hungry souls were fed, and cheer and comfort was brought to those who were longing for Christian fellowship. So, while outwardly these efforts appear to have been futile, I am sure that eternity will tell a vastly different tale. "Home" missions may also be understood to mean literally what the word suggests: taking the Word of God into the isolated and scattered homes of lonely settlers by itinerant missionaries, seeking out the neglected places and not only visiting the populous centers.

Canadian Ministers.—For about seven months I was the only Moravian minister in the Canadian West. By that time the work had expanded sufficiently to justify the call of a second ordained man. I remember when Provincial Elders' Conference informed me of his appointment. "Andreas Lilge," Brother Kluge wrote in his official letter, "was to continue as 'pastor's assistant,' Brother *Wm. N. Schwarze* is to be 'assistant pastor.'" As a matter of fact, we shared all the work on an equal basis. I made out the schedule of services at the various preaching places, but both of us did the same amount of pulpit and pastoral work. We got along very well. He boarded with us at Bruederfeld, my mother keeping house for us. She knew his parents very well from the time they were stationed at Chaska, while my parents were at Laketown. I succeeded Brother

Schwarze's father at Elizabeth, N. J., where I served for several years before being called to Alberta.

In 1898 Brother Schwarze was married and a parsonage was erected in Bruederheim, of which congregation he was the first resident pastor. In 1900 he received a call to the Buxton Grove Training Institute, Antigua, for native teachers and ministers for the Eastern Province of the West Indies. He later became a member of the faculty of our College and Seminary in Bethlehem and finally president of the institution. He died in 1948.

The second resident pastor of Bruederheim was *Wm. C. Schattschneider,* who took charge in 1900. His wife came out about a year later. We became good friends and congenial fellow-workers and visited back and forth as much as was possible in those early years, when roads were often very bad. My wife joined me in 1902, and the following year a third minister, *Emil Suemper,* joined our ranks. He became the first resident pastor of Calgary and a year later was also joined by a helpmate. In 1904 the Schattschneiders were transferred to Hector, Minnesota, and *Charles A. Albrecht* came to Bruederheim to fill the vacancy. He had just been married, and so these three young couples, the Suempers, the Albrechts and we, were naturally drawn together in an intimate circle, which was strengthened from year to year, while we were working together in Alberta, and endured for many years thereafter. Our respective children were born within a few weeks of each other.

Meanwhile another worker joined the ranks of the Canadian ministers, Brother *Gottfried Henkelmann,* a schoolmaster from Volhynia, who after rendering valuable assistance as a lay preacher for several years was ordained in 1903 and served acceptably, for about ten years all told, as pastor in Strathcona, Heimtal and Calgary, when he retired and lived in Strathcona.

Brother Henkelmann was a gifted man in many ways. He literally knew scores if not hundreds of hymns by heart and could quote them most appropriately for any occasion. He was also able to speak Russian, Ruthenian and Polish and acquired a very good command of English, though he was in middle life when he came to Canada with his aged parents and fine family of children. His wife was a most estimable person, who, after her husband's death, made her home with her daughter Emma (Mrs. Fred Stelter), in Lamont, Alberta, a few miles east of Bruederheim.

Arthur R. Schultz came to Alberta in 1906. He was the first

to take up his residence in the combined chapel and dwelling which we had bought from the Baptists the year before in Strathcona. He spent many a happy day at our home in Bruederfeld, coming out on his bicycle and sharing our family life. His wife, who joined him later on, worked faithfully at his side both in Canada and in the States. Both have long since gone to be with the Lord.

Herman Schulze was born in Labrador, and his wife, the former Emmy Guenther, first beheld the light of day in South Africa. They both were sent to Germany for their education, met there and eventually found their life work in the home mission field of Alberta, Canada. They hold the record to date of the longest pastorate ever served by a Moravian minister in Canada in one and the same charge—Heimtal—thirty years without a break. He now lives in retirement near Hay Lake, but is often called upon to preach in many churches, temporarily without a pastor. He has given one son to the ministry and another is now preparing for the service.

I have been intimately associated with all the foregoing during my thirty years of service in the Canadian District, as well as with many of the rest. I can say for them all that they proved to be most excellent fellow-workers in our common task of building up the spiritual forces of our work, and I shall always remember them affectionately.

The following are the names of the ministers who have served in the Canadian District, either by full appointment of the Provincial Elders' Conference or temporarily by arrangement with the Canadian District Executive Board.

MINISTERS AND STUDENT PASTORS WHO SERVED IN THE CANADIAN DISTRICT

1895 to 1949

Name	Year	Place of Residence
Albrecht, Charles	1904	Bruederheim
Anhorn, Friedrich	1932	Bruederheim
Bahnmann, N. W.	1935	New Sarepta
Drebert, Ernest	1912	Edmonton
Bahnsen, Roland	1914	Dundurn
Engelke, Herbert	1923	Pleasant Point
Ewald, F.	1939	Edmonton
Fliegel, John	1923	Bruederfeld
Grabow, Rudolph	1915	Calgary
Gutensohn, Charles	1912	Bruederheim, Edmonton, Calgary
Happel, J. B.	1915	Calgary

Henkelmann, Gottfried — 1903.....Heimtal, Calgary, Edmonton
Heuer, Gustav — 1932.....Edmonton
Hoyler, Clement — 1896.....Bruederfeld, Dundurn, Edmonton
Huebener, Robert — 1915.....Dundurn
Kant, Herbert — 1915.....New Sarepta
Kreitlow, Robert — 1928.....Bruederfeld
Kroening, William — 1920.....Bruederfeld, Calgary
Mann, Archie — 1910.....Watrous
Marx, Samuel — 1942.....Vancouver
Mewaldt, Julius — 1919.....Bruederfeld
Nelson, Howard — 1921.....Dundurn
Redberger, Jacob — 1937.....Bruederheim, Vancouver
Riemer, Reinhold — 1912.....New Sarepta
Riske, Clarence — 1944.....Calgary
Schattschneider, William — 1900.....Bruederheim
Scheel, William — 1916.....New Sarepta, Dundurn
Schimke, Fred — 1943.....New Sarepta
Schoechert, John — 1913.....Calgary
Schultz, Arthur — 1908.....Edmonton
Schultz, Raymond — 1945.....Heimtal
Schulze, Herman — 1910.....Heimtal
Schulze, Rudolph — 1939.....Didsbury
Schwarze, William — 1896.....Bruederheim
Stelter, Elmer — 1944.....New Sarepta, Bruederheim
Suemper, Emil — 1902.....Calgary, Heimtal, Bruederfeld
Wedman, Samuel — 1926.....Bruederheim, Bruederfeld, Edmonton
Weingarth, James — 1938.....Vancouver
Weingarth, Theodore — 1937.....Vancouver, New Sarepta
Weinlick, Joseph — 1924.....Calgary
Weiss, Alfred — 1947.....New Sarepta
Wilde, Edward — 1933.....Vancouver, Bruederfeld
Wolff, Frederick — 1928.....Bruederheim

CHAPTER XIV.

Did it Pay?

Results in a Christian enterprise, like that in local or denominational church work, can be measured in several ways: numerically, financially and spiritually. In this final chapter we will endeavor to give an overall picture of the Canadian District under the caption "Did it Pay?"

1. *Did it Pay Numerically?* We may not be able to answer this question with an unqualified "Yes," but we certainly would not be justified in saying "No; it did not pay."

The record shows fluctuations, but the general trend over the years, is upward. While the growth has not been phenomenal or especially impressive, it has been gratifying in view of the

humble beginnings and the difficulties which have beset the work. We never padded our membership lists, but usually kept them pruned rather severely. The first statistics that were published showed two congregations with a combined membership of 228, of which 89 or 39% were communicants. On January 1, 1949, the total was 10 congregations with 1,364 members, of which 1,015 or 74% were communicants. For the first fifty-three years this shows an increase of 787 in communicant membership. Why was this increase not greater?

Several factors, mostly beyond our control, were responsible for keeping our members down. I mention some of the reasons in the following paragraphs. They contain my own private convictions, and I admit that others may not agree with me in all particulars, but I believe these facts will fairly explain the present situation.

(a) *Two World Wars.*—The Rev. M. W. Leibert, investigating the possibilities of future growth when he visited Alberta in 1895, rightly concluded that further immigration from Russia would be an important factor in the increase of membership and of congregations in the new field of home mission endeavor in Western Canada.

As soon as I arrived in Alberta, a vigorous campaign of letter writing was launched to encourage such immigration. Our people who had settled in Alberta were optimistic and believed that they had made a wise move when they left the land of oppression and had come to a land of freedom and opportunity. They had had some rough going and realized that further hardships awaited them, but they firmly believed that in the end they would be infinitely better off than if they had remained in Russia or Poland. One of the most important elements in their attitude was the fact that the Moravian Church had taken them under her wing and guaranteed to send them Moravian ministers and help them build churches and parsonages.

So they were eager to have their friends and relatives back home come over and join them in Western Canada as soon as they could get away, while choice land in abundance was still available. Those who could write, did their own writing. For some it was a laborious task, since many of them had had poor educational advantages. Their chirography was poor, their spelling worse, but I admired them for their faithful endeavor. Some could not write at all. It was not their fault. They had never

had any opportunity to learn in the old country. These came to me and dictated the subject matter of their messages. For days in the aggregate I served as general amanuensis for my people—both at Bruederfeld and in Bruederheim. It was interesting and illuminating—all the things they told me to write. Naturally I added much of my own composition, things which I thought would be helpful for the recipients to know.

It was interesting to read the letters that came back. Naturally, the people would bring them to me to read, very often because they could not read any script, and, indeed, some of the script was hard to decipher. I got a good idea of the meager educational privileges these excellent, intelligent and quick-witted people had had in their old home. After I had a little practice, I became quite adept at unraveling the contents of the communications. Often the spelling was greatly simplified and words were abbreviated. Even signatures were curtailed.

The contents of these letters from Russia were varied and most interesting. Some of the people were joyously grateful and were ready to accept the invitation to come to Canada as soon as they could get away. Some were unable to raise enough money to purchase all the tickets required for their large families. After a while, when some of our people had done pretty well, they sent prepaid passage tickets across and brought their relatives over.

But some of the replies that came back to Canada were of another kind. The recipients of our Canadian letters thought they sounded exaggerated, altogether too sanguine to be credible. The people over there were skeptical. I rmember one expression that occurred in a letter I read. The writer over in Volhynia wrote to his Bruederfeld friend: "After I read your letter to my friends it smoked in the room." This was a euphemism for saying: "We were all incredulous; we didn't believe a word."

But some were ready to come over. They said: "If it isn't good in Canada, we can always come back." So the rest said: "All right! You go and investigate and write us the truth. We'll believe you!" They came; they liked it; they sent favorable reports back home. Then their friends in Russia said: "So and So has learned to exaggerate, too. We cannot believe him any more either." I heard that story again and again. The re-

ports that our immigrants sent back to Russia sounded too good to be true.

Nevertheless immigration from the old country did pick up for a while. Both Bruederfeld and Bruederheim received some of the new arrivals and that helped to swell the membership. Frequently, when friends were expected, I made it a point to meet the train from Calgary, ready to assist incoming settlers. More than once I saw some lonely, bewildered family get off at the South Edmonton station, and when I greeted them in a friendly way in their mother-tongue and told them that I was the "Brueder-Prediger" from Bruederfeld, I saw their faces light up with joy. I helped them get settled in the immigration shed near the depot, and hastened back into the country to announce the arrival of the new immigrants. Either that same evening or early the next morning their friends would come to town to get them. If their friends lived in Bruederheim, I sent word to that settlement by whatever means available.

After a while we thought it might be a good thing to send a so-called "Return Man" back to Russia to report verbally to the people, who might be induced to come to Canada on the personal testimony of a reliable and universally respected representative of our colonists. I talked the matter over with Mr. R. A. Ruttan, the chief government land agent in Edmonton and enlisted his whole-hearted support for the idea. I talked to one of our solid and substantial Bruederfelders. He was willing to go back at government expense and visit his old neighbors and friends in the various "colonies" in Volhynia (for he was widely known) and to give straightforward, first-hand, unvarnished reports about conditions in Alberta. The funds were appropriated by Ottawa, the necessary papers were made out and everything seemed to be ready. Then our emissary got "cold feet." I do not want to do anyone any injustice, but I think his good wife dissuaded him. She was afraid he might run into trouble in Russia and never get back. He himself may have feared something of the same sort, for he knew conditions in Russia and recognized the risk of acting as an immigration agent for a foreign country. Regretfully we had to drop the scheme, from which we had expected great results.

Then in 1914 I was elected to go as a delegate to the General Synod in Herrnhut. People urged me to visit Volhynia and do

some quiet missionary work among their friends and relatives. They gave me many names and addresses, and loaded me with personal greetings. I did not make any definite promises, for Russia was an unknown quantity to me and the ways of the czarist regime were an enigma. I promised to take the matter up with the Brethren in Herrnhut, who had charge of the *diaspora* work in Poland and Volhynia. They were very much in favor of the plan; but they told me that the Moravian minister in Lodz, who was at the head of our *diaspora* work in the land of the czars, had lately begun to plan a forward move in the territory under his jurisdiction and had high hopes that the Moravian cause was on the eve of new developments. He felt that conditions were growing more favorable for us and that there would be a marked upswing in the Moravian *diaspora* field for which he was responsible.

I could clearly see that our Brethren in Herrnhut did not share this optimism of the Lodz brother; they warned me that he would probably look askance at my invading his field for the express purpose of enticing some of his people away. Nevertheless, they felt that the Moravian-minded people in Volhynia and Russian Poland would be far better off in Alberta, where they could freely help to build up independent congregations, without interference from political or ecclesiastical opponents, and so they agreed to finance my trip to Russia and gave me M.150.—toward my traveling expenses. I immediately applied for my passport and visa to enable me to enter Russia, the only European country so far as I know which at that time required such papers. I also got in touch with our minister in Lodz, whom I asked to plan my itinerary. His reply, I thought, lacked warmth and cordiality. I felt that he was not happy over the prospect of my visiting his best groups; but I followed up my first letter with a second, in which I asked for permission to visit him and talk things over with him verbally. I know I also made bold to ask him to work out my two weeks' itinerary and to write to the different colonies served by him, informing them of my proposed visit.

I gave him my Copenhagen address; but when I got to Copenhagen from Norway, I found no word from Lodz. I waited for almost a week and then reluctantly decided to go to England and wait out my time in London prior to sailing home from Liverpool. I never heard from the brother in Lodz and conclud-

ed that he did not favor my coming, as the Brethren in Herrnhut had intimated. I returned the money to Herrnhut.

Naturally I was very much disappointed that I did not get to those places from which our Alberta people had come and that I could not deliver their greetings in person and, especially, that I did not have the expected opportunity to do something in the way of promoting emigration to Alberta. But before long I saw the "why" of the Lord's gracious leading in blocking my way to Lodz and Lwowek and Zhitomir and all the other places. A few weeks later, just while I would perhaps have been in Russia, all Europe was set on fire with the flames of war. And while I would not have been in danger of internment, because Russia at first was one of the Allies, I would have been marooned there, would have run out of funds and would have had to return to New York on a cattle boat or something of that sort. Even if I had gotten out of Russia in time for my own safety and convenience, my visit in Poland and Volhynia would have accomplished nothing, as all emigration to Canada stopped immediately and, as a matter of fact, has never fully recovered to this day. Our Brethren in those lands had missed their last chance to join us in Alberta. Many of them were driven into the interior before the advancing German armies. In most cases our people in Bruederfeld and Bruederheim never heard of their friends and relatives again. They were probably caught in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and what their ultimate or present fate may be, only God knows. One interesting case came out of all the confusion: a certain German family was banished to where the old Moravian colony of Sarepta on the Volga had been established, and this family somehow found their way to Canada.

The Great War of 1914 to 1918 was a severe blow to the growth of our membership in the Canadian District. Hundreds of our prospects were lost to our cause in Canada and the hopes and expectations of Brother Leibert were thereby shattered to a large extent.

(b) *The Lack of Funds.*—Those of us who worked in Canada, especially during the early years, were dependent largely on our home mission stipends. Our Canadian congregations had to struggle in the face of difficult economic conditions. While our rural members were generous in remembering their ministers with various farm products, their own way of living was simple and modest, and they did not consider it essential to pay sal-

aries that enabled our men to start bank accounts or to lay anything away for a rainy day. I remember one year when my total cash salary from all sources was less than $200.00. I did not receive any home mission stipend any longer at that time. The allowance that we as a District Executive Board were able to secure from the Board of Church Extension at that time did not enable us to offer much to our home missionaries by way of stipends to supplement local salaries.

Looking back and knowing what we now realize to be a fact, it seems unfortunate that our Canadian District Executive Board did not more boldly ask for more money in order to put our Canadian men on at least an approximate equality with the ministers of other districts. Some of this additional money should have come from the Canadian congregations, but it was hard for the men on the field or even the official board to press the matter. As I see it now, we should have urged our officials in Bethlehem to push this financial matter by an investigation on the spot, so as to relieve the men in the field of the embarrassing necessity of asking for salaries on the level of the salaries elsewhere. I understand that in England all Moravian ministers, whether serving weak struggling congregations or in charge of well-to-do parishes, receive the same salaries. Undoubtedly the policy of economy and retrenchment over against one of the fruitful home mission fields of the province has militated against the numerical growth of the membership. Young men shied away from a district that did not adequately provide for the reasonable support of its ministers. I feel that it has been a short-sighted policy not to throw more money into the Canadian work when chances for growth were at their peak.

(c) *The Shortage of Men.*—Closely related to the last as a reason for retarded numerical growth is the fact that the Canadian District at times was not adequately staffed. The distances were great. Much time was lost in getting about, especially as there were no automobile roads and all travel had to be done by horse-drawn vehicles. Intensive work in any locality was difficult, because of lack of men.

Home mission work in Canada does not seem to appeal to young men. In the early years a measure of glamor probably attached to pioneer life, but after a while the novelty wore off and frontier life did not look so attractive any more. Cultural advantages were lacking, the amenities of life in the country

and smaller towns were missing, salaries were much lower than in other parts of the province—so why should a young man accept a call to the Canadian District when he could just as well serve the Lord amid more appealing surroundings. All added up to one thing: the detrimental shortage of men. It is my candid and profound conviction — and not merely a passing opinion—that many valuable opportunities were lost, because we could not throw a strong force of men into promising fields, backed up with adequate denominational support.

(d) *The Language Problem.*—There were times when German was a handicap. For example, some good men who might have considered a call to Canada were afraid of the German. They did not feel able to handle it, or they preferred to do their Bible study in English only. Even good German Brethren wanted a chance to perfect themselves in English. The language problem, therefore, adversely affected numerical growth by robbing the district of some excellent men, who did not like to work bilingually.

The all too persistent holding on to the German language in deference to a few unyielding sticklers has also affected our numerical growth in Canada to some extent, because we lost some of our fine young people by their marriage with English-speaking mates. While I always felt sympathetic toward our older people, who loved their mother tongue, I sometimes felt they were unreasonable in their antagonism to English, which after all is the official language of the land of their adoption. In the end our Canadian church work must fall in line with the inevitable trend toward English, and unless the transition is made in time we will suffer far greater loss than time can ever repair. Immigration from Europe as a factor in adding to our numerical growth is "out" for good; we must be a Canadian church for Canadians.

(e) *Canadian Church Union.*—We lost three of our congregations in Saskatchewan by the merging of several denominations. The union which was consummated in 1925 absorbed our congregations in Dundurn, Pleasant Point and Watrous. The church buildings in Dundrun were locally owned and so were taken over by the United Church of Canada, together with the membership. The same happened with the members at Pleasant Point and Watrous, though in 1949 the church and real estate at Pleasant Point were still held by the Canadian District and an occasional service is conducted for the erstwhile members in that section.

Our total membership in Saskatchewan at one time was 123, and this has entirely disappeared from our statistics.

(f) *Religious Restlessness and Instability.*—These emotional weaknesses accounted for some defections. In one or two cases rival denominations encroached upon our field and endeavored to draw our people from the church that had become dear to their fathers. Unfortunate rivalry and a lack of Christian comity led some well-meaning people to try to win our members to their standards. As a rule their work did not have permanency, but a measure of harm was done to us nevertheless.

Certain "isms" made slight inroads here and there. While God granted us frequent gracious revivals, there were always some who wanted to show the rest how much farther along they had gotten on the way to perfectionism than the quiet Moravians.

(g) *Migrations.*—Once in a while people became affected with a roving spirit. They wanted to move. Some started to settle in British Columbia. To a certain extent we were able to follow them into the neighboring province. But when they settled in the state of Washington and in the state of Oregon it became more difficult. In the end those that moved to the West Coast in the United States were definitely lost to our Canadian church.

(h) *Shortcomings of our Own.*—None of us ministers would wish to deny that we have oft times been remiss in our duties and have not built up our congregations and our membership with that faithfulness that Christ the Head of the Church expected of us. Our members, too, would undoubtedly acknowledge that they have often grown cold and have allowed the world to creep into their families and their congregations to the detriment of the highest interests of the cause entrusted to them.

In short there are many reasons which could be adduced for the fact that our membership has not grown as rapidly as we might all have wished. And yet in spite of all the setbacks enumerated in this chapter, we are glad our labors have not been in vain. It has paid to establish the Canadian work. It has added a worthwhile number of congregations and members to our statistics. It has widened to a considerable extent the home base of our denomination.

2. *Did it Pay Financially?*—Though at the beginning Canadian home missions were a drain on church extension funds, the outlay has been amply justified, as has already been pointed out. The original cost of establishing the work was met by a special

appeal to the Church at large. A pamphlet was prepared by the Rev. M. W. Leibert and issued both in German and in English. It was distributed in several thousand copies, both in this country and in Great Britain and continental Europe. Generous contributions flowed in and provided the first salaries, as well as the necessary funds for the erection of the first buildings. About a year later the so-called Alberta Forward Movement was launched and supplemented the earlier efforts.

After a while the entire project was thrown upon the resources of the Board of Church Extension and the Canadian work had to content itself with whatever could be spared from the regular funds. The authorities in Bethlehem responded generously to all appeals for help in erecting churches and parsonages, but it was in the insufficient appropriations made for home mission stipends that the pinch was felt. The allotment did not enable the District Board to guarantee the home missionaries in the district a fair salary, much less could further workers be added to the staff, even if the men could have been secured.

True, the aggregate of monies sent to Canada from Eastern Headquarters undoubtedly reached a staggering total during the past half century and more. I am not able to give complete statistics for the entire period from 1895 to 1949. These could be compiled only from the records of the Provincial Treasurer. But I do know that for many years past the Canadian District has annually given back to the Church at large far more than it has gotten annually from denominational funds.

In 1947 the Board of Church Extension subsidized the Canadian District to the extent of $2,400.00, but in return the Canadian congregations contributed a total of $8,552.83 to Moravian benevolences. Out of this total one congregation alone—Bruederheim—gave $2,426.95. In that same year the value of the Canadian church property, held in trust for the Northern Province, was given very conservatively at $75,950.00.

For many years past Bruederheim has been self-supporting. While it was still a home mission it received altogether $5,485.00 from provincial funds. Now the congregation is giving that much back to the Church at large every two-and-a-half to three years. It paid to organize Bruederheim.

At the time of the golden jubilees of Bruederfeld and Bruederheim in 1945 I prepared a souvenir pamphlet, and in it I mentioned that both of these congregations at that time had given

back much more than they got from the province—Bruederfeld eleven times as much and Bruederheim seven times as much. And this does not include the real estate they acquired, which is held by the Canadian District Executive Board in trust for the province.

From the financial standpoint the Canadian enterprise has not been a bad investment. It has paid and is paying good dividends in the form of substantial contributions to all the denominational benevolences far in excess of the amounts allocated to the district for home missionary stipend.

In reality, of course, the success of a missionary enterprise should not be measured in dollars and cents. In the case of foreign missions we do not ask: "Are the native converts paying back the money we spent on sending them the Gospel?" And home missions are not so very different. When the Church at home supplies the needy settlers on the frontier with Gospel privileges, we should not ask: "What will we get out of it?" The very fact that new congregations are added and further members brought into the denomination, widens the home base and increases the ability of the Church at large to carry on foreign missions. This in itself is a great gain, and because our Canadian Moravians have from the very beginning contributed generously to our foreign missions, we may say without qualification that it has paid abundantly from the financial angle that the Canadian District was established.

3. *Did it Pay Spiritually?*—In preceding chapters, I have reported on some of the evangelistic meetings in Strathcona and in Bruederfeld. These revivals were made possible because back in 1895 our church fathers decided to begin home missionary work in the Canadian West. A single soul saved is worth infinitely more than all the money spent on Canadian home missionary projects. We can still see the results of the earlier revivals, for some of the more recent experiences along evangelistic lines have been a direct outgrowth of earlier seasons of refreshing. The blessed work goes on in our time.

One notable permanent spiritual result of the Gospel work done in our Canadian District may be found in the relatively large number of candidates for the home ministry and the foreign service, which Canada has furnished to our denomination, and even to some extent to sister Churches. I can do nothing better than to insert at this place a complete list of the men and women

who have become either ministers and missionaries, or ministers' and missionaries' wives during the years from 1895 to 1949, including those at present preparing for such service. Of these there are eight, or one out of about 132 communicants. If the rest of the province furnished candidates in the same ratio, there would be 158 men studying for the ministry today instead of the thirty-seven registered. Altogether, as will be seen by the list, thirty-seven men and twenty women, together fifty-seven persons, have gone into full-time service in the Christian Church (ours and others) up to the summer of 1949. Of these, twenty-eight men and women were in active service as of July 1, 1949. Forty-three families or fathers furnished these Canadian workers, and all but three were Canadian fathers themselves.

Spiritually, I think it has paid to have done home mission work in the Canadian West.

CHURCH WORKERS FURNISHED BY THE CANADIAN DISTRICT UP TO JULY 1, 1949

(*Ordained; †M.D. or R.N.; ‡No longer in Service)

Name	Father	Congregation	Service	Remarks
Adam, Lorenz	William	Heimtal		Student
*Befus, John, Jr.	John	Calgary	Nicaragua	
†Befus, Mrs. John	Fred Stelter	Bruederheim	Nicaragua	
Boettcher, Erwin	Emil	Edmonton		Student
‡Busenius, Gottfried	Philip	Bruederfeld	Alaska	
Cybart, Lucy	Alexander	Edmonton		Student
Damer, Walter	Julius	Edmonton		Student
*Drebert, Ernest	Wilhelm	Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	
Drebert, Mrs. E.	Andreas Stoltz	Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	
*Drebert, Ferdinand	Wilhelm	Bruederfeld	Alaska	
*Dreger, Reinhardt	Wilhelm	Bruederfeld		In the Presb. Min.
*Dreger, Wilfred	Julius	Edmonton	Nicaragua	
*Harke, Albert	Ferdinand	Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	
Harke, Herbert	Martin	New Sarepta		Student
Henkelmann, Clarence	Martin	New Sarepta	Alaska	
Henkelmann, Mrs. C.	Busenius	New Sarepta	Alaska	
*Henkelmann, Gottfried	Gottlieb	Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	Deceased
Henkelmann, Mrs. G.		Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	Deceased
‡Henkelmann, Lydia	August Henkelmann	Bruederheim	Alaska	Married a Mr. Jones
Henkelmann, Marvin	Theodore	Bruederfeld		Student
Henkelmann, Percy	Emil	Bruederheim		Student
*Henkelmann, Reinhold	Gottfried	Calgary	No. Prov.	
Hildebrand, Ella	Friedrich	Bruederfeld		S.I.M., Africa
*Kroening, William	Wilhelm	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	

Kroening, Mrs. W.	Ludwig Stelter	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	
‡Lebsack, Benjamin	Jacob	Calgary	Alaska	
‡Lebsack, Mrs. B.		Calgary	Alaska	
‡Lebsack, Jacob, Jr.	Jacob	Calgary	Alaska	
‡Lebsack, Mrs. J.		Calgary	Alaska	
Loppnow, Mrs. Milo	Aug. Stoltz	Edmonton	No. Prov.	
†*Marx, Samuel	Herman	Vancouver	Nicaragua	
†Marx, Mrs. S.	Adolph Hoppe	Vancouver	Nicaragua	
‡*Moore, Charles		Bruederheim	Alaska	In Teaching Prof.
‡Moore, Mrs. C.		Bruederheim	Alaska	
‡*Riemer, Reinhold	Julius	Bruederfeld	No. Prov.	In Teaching Prof.
*Riske, Clarence	Gustav	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	
Riske, Mrs. C.	Adolph Kobus	Vancouver	No. Prov.	
Schattschneider, Elizabeth	August	Heimtal	Alaska	Married H. Holtmeier; deceased
*Schattschneider, William	August	Heimtal	No. Prov.	Deceased
*Schultz, Gerhard	Adolph	Bruederheim		Presby. Minister
*Schultz, Raymond	August	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	
*Schulze, Rudolph	Herman	Heimtal	No. Prov.	
Schulze, Mrs. R.	Aug. Stoltz	Edmonton	No. Prov.	
Schulze, Erich	Herman	New Sarepta		Student
Schwanke, Wilton	Gustav	Bruederheim		Student
*Stelter, Albert	Ludwig	Bruederheim		Baptist Minister
*Stelter, Elmer	Fred	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	
Stelter, Elsie	Ludwig	Bruederheim		In Undenominational Work
‡*Stoltz, Andrew	Andreas	Bruederfeld		
*Stoltz, Gordon	August	Edmonton	No. Prov.	
*Teske, Arthur	Gustav	Esk		Baptist Minister
†Wedman, Jane	Samuel	Edmonton	Nicaragua	
*Wedman, Samuel	Michael	Calgary	Nic.; N. Pr.	
*Weingarth, James	Theodore	Vancouver	Nic.; N. Pr.	
†Weingarth, Mrs. J.	August Stoltz	Edmonton	Nic.; N. Pr.	
Wensel, Eileen	William	Edmonton		Married Arthur Teske; in Baptist Service
*Wilde, Edward	Wilhelm	Bruederheim	No. Prov.	

The following article appeared in

THE CHRISTIAN UNION 12 November, 1892

A Family Paper

Clinton Hall, Astor Place, New York

[It was discovered in our Society Archives by Curator E. H. Swavely.]

A Moravian Vesper

By ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD, LL.D.

President of Lafayette College

It was on one of the first gray days of autumn that an invitation came from a friend asking me to go with him as his guest to the annual "Vesper" of the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth. I had never had an opportunity to be present at any of the meetings of our neighbors at Nazareth and Bethlehem, although many pleasant reports of their Old World customs had come to me from time to time, and I was delighted to join in one of their most characteristic celebrations. We left our own beautiful situation in the historic "forks of the Delaware," and, climbing the shoulder of richly wooded Paxinosa, descended into the valley of the Bushkill. The long line of the Blue Ridge stretched its front before us, broken by the three gaps—the Water Gap, the Wind Gap, and the Lehigh Gap. The gray of the autumn day half revealed and half concealed the stern mountain barrier, and in lines of haze tracked the watercourses through the valley, leaving the open fields of new-cut corn and the half-plowed uplands outstanding in their tender tints of brown and yellow. The air was fresh with the first frost, and the rapid drive brought us with flushed faces and cold fingers to the hospitable streets of Nazareth.

It is a German town. Name and location have sought in vain to trace its characteristics up to an older, or bring them down to a newer date. The atmosphere is full of the same influences which I breathed long ago in the rambles of my *Wanderjahr* among the hills of Saxony, Cassel, and Bohemia. But it is no worse for that.

It may be not a little better for it. Certainly it has an added interest because of it.

But we were already late, and hurried to the building of the Historical Society. It stands on a fine site in the eastern quarter of the town. A sturdy rectangular building, simple and strong, built of gray mountain stone. Just above the windows of the first story runs a line of red brick, like the layer of slate between two strata of limestone, showing where the archaic sea ebbed and flowed. This line of brick must catch even the most casual visitor's eye, and, even though we miss a portion of the day's programme, we must know its *raison d'etre.* Its story proved brief and interesting. William Penn gave the tract of land on which Nazareth stands to his daughter Laetitia, it then amounting to five thousand acres, with the privilege of having it erected into a manor, and of holding a *court baron.* It was sold to one William Allen, who in turn sold it to George Whitefield, the great evangelist. Here Whitefield intended to found a colony which he was to bring from Georgia, but, becoming discouraged, he sold it in 1741 to the Moravians. He had, however, begun a school building and carried it up to the second story. This was the building. The Moravian purchasers ran a course of bricks around the building to mark the point reached by their predecessor, and then carried the work on to completion.

Whitefield left more than one mark on the quaint town. It is generally supposed that the names Bethlehem and Nazareth are landmarks of Moravian occupation. But Whitefield gave the town its name, and from him the grant was known as the Barony of Nazareth. This incongruous combination—this lordship of Nazareth—died stillborn. With accustomed wisdom, the Moravians abandoned all thought of manorial organization, and began their labors with characteristic simplicity. The memory of the Counts Zinzendorf is fragrant in Nazareth, but it was not the rich but humble nobles who left the memorial of worldly lordship in the little town, but the Pennsylvania Quaker and the founder of English Calvinistic Methodism.

We entered a door overshadowed by a vigorous ivy brought from one of the old homes in Moravia, and, ascending to the main hall on the second floor, we find the company assembled. It is no common history which this house and this society keep the records of. It is a history of struggle through many long centuries for religious and personal liberty—a struggle against principalities

and powers, against treason and violence at home, against assault and persecution from abroad, against open enemies and secret defamers; from the day on which John Hus suffered by the command of the Council of Constance to the day when Zinzendorf found persecution even in free America, this history has been one of menace and martyrdom, but also of heroism and triumph. In this room are gathered many memorials of the men who have lived and died for the glory of God in the bonds of the *Unitas Fratrum;* not merely of those who lived and died in the eyes of the world, but of those who, unfaltering and unfailing, have carried the spirit of Paul into many a mission field, as well as this at Nazareth.

The company was a large one, both of men and women, old and young, for all have a part in this glorious history. Nor was it a local gathering only, but there were many from distant cities, notably New York and Philadelphia. They were gathered round long tables on which a substantial but simple meal was served, and after the meal the women took their sewing and their knitting, after the good custom of the Fatherland, and the men smoked, after the bad custom of the New World, while the feast of reason and of song was entered on. The songs were all hymns and printed on slips for distribution, but they seemed so familiar that few used the printed slips, while all joined with delightful zest and heartiness in the singing. The songs were in some cases quaint in language and phrasing, reminding me of the early Psalm-books of New England, and in one or two cases the theologic and dogmatic forms of expression were as unusual as they were accurate. The tunes were German chorals, always pleasing to my ear, sweet and full, and carrying the quaint, strong words to heaven with no uncertain sound.

There were four papers on the programme; papers which for solid merit, sustained interest, and original research will bear comparison with the best work of the larger Historical Societies. The first paper was by Professor E. Leibert, for many years the honored Principal of Nazareth Hall, the general school for college and business preparation. It was a translation and brief comment on a sermon preached against John Hus in 1416, just prior to his condemnation by the Council of Constance. This was followed by an account of the work of "Moravian Evangelists among the Swedes of New Jersey," by Professor J. Taylor Hamilton, of Bethlehem; and Professor H. A. Jacobson, of Bethlehem,

read a part of a paper on "The Journey of Bishops Hehl and Ettwein in Eastern Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century." But the paper which was of the greatest interest to the ordinary listener was read by the Rev. W. H. Rice, of New York, and was an account of "A Journey of a Bethlehem Boy to Ohio for his Bride in 1808," translated from the diary of Owen Rice, the father of the boy, and, if I am not mistaken, the grandfather of the reader, of the paper. I have rarely heard a more delightful account of a trip through the "wilderness" than this. The writer was shrewd and observant, and at the same time a devout and outspoken Christian. The story abounds in incident and amusing situations, some of which must have been vexatious as well, but the narrative is told in such a spirit of sympathy with nature and trust in God that it is almost a forest idyl, and quite a beautiful epithalamium. Not the least of the vexations which beset the way was bad roads and one of these, after October rains, proving utterly impassible, the wagon was abandoned, and the bridal party pushed on upon their homeward path on horseback, But, on crossing a river at a ford, the girths of the bride's saddle broke and let her fall into the stream. The daughter of a Moravian missionary to the Indians was of too well-tried a temper to mind so small a mishap, and a settler's house being found not far off, the necessary change of raiment was quickly effected. So they rode on, making merry by the way, laughing, as love is wont to do, at obstacles, until the bride's new home was safely reached. At the conclusion of the paper, a cap which the bride wore was shown to the company upon the shapely head of a descendant of the rising generation.

Some impromptu speeches followed, speeches of congratulation and appreciation of the regular programme; some little discussion, also, with regard to the propriety of holding these "Vespers" in a larger hall elsewhere, which was almost, or quite, unanimously voted down; and then the meeting was adjourned, and little groups moved slowly here and there among the memorials of the elder days of strife and struggle, or out in the peaceful little grounds that surround the building.

As I drove homeward in the gathering shades of evening, a strong sensation of simplicity and of strength remained with me as I remember the papers and their readers, and, most of all, their hearers. I have never seen an audience of the same size and of the same diversity of age, sex, and worldly interests participate

in a meeting of the same length and the same seriousness of purpose with such universal interest and attention. There seemed to be among them still the spirit of those who with Hus had caught the force of John Wyclif's teaching and had not let it die; of those who had fought under John Zizka and triumphed under the great Procopius, only that they might the better study under Comenius, and by precept and example preach the true "unity of the brethren in Christ."

The Great "International Friendship Celebration" at Fairfield, Ontario, Canada

AUGUST 13 and 14, 1950

By Bishop S. H. Gapp

President of the Moravian Historical Society

Not by accident did the great celebration take place at Fairfield. Gottlob Senseman died there January 4, 1800, 150 years ago, and was buried on the "Hutberg" of that mission station. He was the first of the original missionaries in "Upper Canada" to die. The mission had been begun in 1792.

And it was 135 years that the forty-ninth parallel, the boundary between Canada and the United States, has been entirely undefended, and the two great nations of North America have lived in blessed peace and good will.

The master mind who planned the double celebration was the late Dr. John R. McNicol, a prominent manufacturer and for many years a member of Parliament, a great and a good man. In the course of historical research he learned of the Fairfield mission, visited New Fairfield, located the site of the original mission, destroyed by an American Army in 1813, and interested a group of men in the purchase of a thirty-two acre site and its development into a memorial park, a splendid undertaking still in progress. Dr. McNicol was the guest of honor of the Moravian Historical Society in 1944; he gave an excellent and inspiring address on the Fairfield mission.

His master mind also planned the details of the celebration. But he was not there. He died suddenly on June 18, 1950, two months before the anniversary. But his spirit hovered over the place and the people. Without special preparation or intention, a third element entered the celebration—a loving remembrance of a great and good man gone to his eternal reward—Dr. John R. McNicol.

Old Fairfield is located on Canadian Highway No. 2, on the North bank of the Thames River, four miles east of Thamesville. New Fairfield was begun in 1818 on the South bank of the Thames, one quarter of a mile up-stream from Fairfield. The church and school-house still stand; the former received necessary repairs for the celebration but no alterations were made.

In this old and renovated Church the first service of the Celebration took place on August 13, 1950. A bright, warm, pleasant day. Not all automobiles are in the U. S.! Several traffic officers were quite busy courteously directing traffic; the vicinity of the Church was packed with cars; the Church was packed full; crowds of people on two sides and in front of the Church. Several of the speakers wondered whether they would be able to enter—but way was made for them. Newspapers estimated the crowd from three thousand to over five thousand. Amplifiers in the trees enabled those outside to follow the service.

The Rev. D. W. Williams, a member of the Fairfield Trust, had charge of the opening service. He is pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Goderich. Chief Omer Peters, in the full regalia of his office, in a neat speech welcomed the visitors from Canada and the United States. Frances Stojaspal, a pretty little Czech blond, who in the course of the year had come to Canada with her mother, dressed in the beautiful costume of her native land, repeated the Lord's Prayer in the language of Hus and Comenius.

Bishop K. G. Hamilton delivered the first address, an accurate sketch of Fairfield's history, with enough material of human interest to hold the attention of old and young; nor did he fail to make some pertinent applications for all of us in our time.

A sermon was preached next by the Rev. H. Paul Guhse, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, St. Petersburg, Florida, on the text Hebrews 11:39, 40. He paid a warm tribute to the faithful workers for Christ in those early days in Ontario and made an earnest plea for all of us of today to follow and serve the Christ now. Moravians will be interested to learn that Dr. Guhse traces his ancestry on his father's side to the Huguenots and on his mother's side way back to early Moravian days.

The Rev. R. S. Johnson, pastor of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Chatham, Canada, also a member of the Fairfield Trust, delivered a eulogy of Dr. McNicol. Here follow a few excerpts:

"It is impossible to pay fit tribute to the late Dr. McNicol, but this at least ought to be said: Dr. McNicol was for nineteen years a member of the House of Commons for Toronto—Davenport. No doubt he was looking after the interests of his constituency: nevertheless his interests were as wide as the country and between sessions of the Parliament it was his custom to travel far, not as a sight-seer nor as a tourist; he used his intelligence to gather knowledge and facts that would help him to promote the general good of the people of Canada. Four years ago he had in mind this project of an International Friendship celebration in 1950."

Chief Omer among others passed the offering plate; the gifts are to be used for the further development of the Memorial Park.

This writer read the Scripture lesson, offered the memorial prayer and pronounced the benediction.

Monday, August 14, was another beautiful day, Canada furnishing as delightful weather as could be desired. On the platform and in the sun it was rather hot.

The afternoon exercises took place on the site of Old Fairfield, very close to Highway No. 2. Again a remarkably large number of people were present. Several traffic officers were kept busy carefully and courteously protecting old and young from harm from constantly passing cars as children as well as children of a larger growth were constantly passing from one side to the other of the busy highway.

A large platform had been erected, large enough to seat, not only the speakers but also a number of dignitaries. The Chairman was Mr. A. R. Ford, vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Ontario, who represented Premier Leslie M. Frost. Recalling his attendance at the 451 anniversary celebration of the discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot, he said: "Cabot was doing his duty to the King in finding a new land. But in the Moravian missionaries we see men serving another King giving their lives that the Gospel might be carried into this area."

The Rev. H. Paul Guhse, representing the U. S. Ambassador at Ottawa, delivered the first address. He spoke of the mutual trust between Canada and the U. S., built on the firm foundation of 135 years of peace between the two nations. "There is no weak link between us today. We are gloriously united in common thought, spirit and culture." He spoke very highly of the

Moravians in general and of their efforts in Ontario in particular.

The second speaker was the Hon. Paul Martin, an Indian Chief himself, minister of National Health and Welfare. He represented the Prime Minister of Canada, the Hon. St. Laurent. He stated that though he was not of "your particular faith, like you I do believe in God. Let us all rise above our parochial organizations and recognize those who believe in the Christian way of life."

The tribute he paid to the memory of Doctor McNicol was sincere and touching. He also spoke kindly words of appreciation of the early missionaries. The main part of his address dealt with the 135 years of peace between the two nations. He mentioned an estimate that the invisible line between the two countries, the 49th parallel in North America, 3,900 miles long, is crossed thirty million times a year. The manuscript of the address is in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.

After the speech making ceased, two trees were planted as a beginning for the projected "Avenue of Peace." In 1813 it was an avenue of war; on it the U. S. Army marched to Old Fairfield to obliterate completely the fine Christian Indian village. The first tree was planted by our Bishop Hamilton, for the U. S., and the second by the Hon. Paul Martin, for Canada. The writer offered the closing prayer.

Both on Sunday and on Monday afternoons, band music was greatly enjoyed by the large crowds present.

On Monday evening, in the Chatham Hotel, the International Friendship Banquet was held. Every seat in the spacious hall was filled. The toastmaster was the Hon. W. E. Hamilton, Minister of Institutions of Ontario. After the splendid banquet had been served, the toastmaster presented greetings from the Hon. Leslie M. Frost, Premier of Ontario. First he introduced Miss Harriet Clark, of Toronto, niece of Dr. McNicol. She spoke on the good work of the early missionaries, the value of bringing together representatives of the different Protestant denominations in both countries in such splendid fellowship as characterized the two days celebration, the fine record of the 135 years of peace and friendship, and finally of the too often forgotten heroic service of the women in that early mission service.

Bishop Hamilton delivered the next address. He said in part, "In the international circle it is not easy to attain and maintain

friendship. It requires effort and sacrifice. Sometimes we find in families that even if we understand each other we cannot agree. In the home and among brothers, the ties that bind are stronger than the differences. I am convinced that unless we are willing to take that attitude, the hope of attaining international friendship is vain. We must sacrifice for it.

"The Cross of Christ, though apparent defeat, under God was the greatest victory on earth. In sacrificing for international friendship we are following in His footsteps and can count on His help."

Mayor George Kerr, K.C., of Chatham, thanked all who had helped to make the two day's celebration so outstanding a success.

John Ford Taylor sang two solos, acompanied by Mrs. Bryce Kendrick, both of Chatham.

The writer was called on for a few remarks and to close the celebration with prayer and the benediction.

U. S. Moravians present included Miss Caroline Leinbach, Winston-Salem, a direct descendant of the Rev. Jesse Vogler, the Rev. and Mrs. E. H. Swavely, of Nazareth, Bishop and Mrs. Hamilton and the writer. A Moravian lady from England had traveled a considerable distance in Canada in order to be present.

Special mention for very gracious hospitality must be made of Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Fletcher, of Chatham, and of Mr. and Mrs. L. R. Gray, of London. All the U. S. visitors returned home with the happiest memories of the cordiality shown by all Canadians. We advise Moravians to visit Fairfield and meet the Canadian people. "They are worthy."

EDITORIAL FROM THE CHATHAM DAILY NEWS

CHATHAM, ONTARIO — AUGUST 14, 1950

THE FAIRFIELD CEREMONIES

Impressive ceremonies enacted Sunday and today at the historic Fairfield sites, emphasized the friendly relations which exist between Canada and the United States.

The occasion was a great one, the only regrettable feature being that the discoverer of the site of the old Indian Village, and the promoter of the international friendship event, was prevent-

ed by death from seeing his ambitions realized. We refer, of course, to the late John R. MacNicol. Although not there in the flesh, he would be there in spirit, and many of the assembled visitors, no doubt, would feel that the event carried the extra significance of being a memorial to this great Canadian, and his work in connection with the restoration of the historic site.

It was in 1792 that Rev. David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary to the Delaware Indians, founded the original mission and village on land granted by the British government. The village included a church and a school. In the war of 1812—in October 1813 to be exact—the British and Americans fought a few miles west of this village the battle in which fell the great Indian chief, Tecumseh. A day or two later the village was burned. The Moravian missionaries subsequently returned and established a new village on a site across the river where they built a church which is still standing.

In the course of his study of the history of the Moravians, Mr. MacNicol did a lot of research with the result that he located what he believed was the site of the original mission. He was given valuable assistance by Wilfred Jury of the University of Western Ontario. They were able to definitely establish the location on which many interesting relics were found.

Through the generosity of Mr. William A. McGeachy of this city, 32 acres of land were purchased, and this area now forms the historical site on which the weekend international friendship celebration was held. It was highlighted by speeches by Hon. Paul Martin, representing the Canadian government, and by Moravian clergymen from Bethlehem.

The event will be recorded as a red-letter one. It was a great blow to the committee in charge of the arrangements when death removed Mr. MacNicol, as plans were being finalized, but Mr. McGeachy and his associates on the committee worked hard to carry out the arrangements which had been detailed by their late colleague. The success of the important event is a tribute to their splendid work, and for which they are to be congratulated.

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